

NEW OBSERVATIONS

ON

ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

NEW OBSERVATIONS

R
Grosley. (P. P.)
ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS

WRITTEN IN FRENCH

BY TWO SWEDISH GENTLEMEN

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY THOMAS NUGENT, ESQ.

AND FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY

OF ANTIQUARIES

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR L. DAVIS AND C. REYMERS

PRINTERS TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

MDCCLXIX.

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EDWIN FRANCIS STANHOPE ESQ.

ITALY

THESE

A OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS

WRITTEN IN FRENCH

BY A TESTIMONY OF HIS PEOPLE

AND HIS OWN



TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

AS A MONUMENT OF HIS FRIENDSHIP

BY THOMAS NUGENT, ESQ.

AND HIS OWN KNOWLEDGE OF MANY FAVOUR

ON ANTIQUITIES

Are most respectfully inscribed

VOL. I.

By his most humble and

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR L. DAVIS AND C. HARRIS,

PRINTERS TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

MDCCLXXII.

THOMAS NUGENT.

T O
EDWIN FRANCIS STANHOPE, Esq;

T H E S E

OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY
AND ITS INHABITANTS,

As a Testimony of Esteem for his public
and private Virtues,

As a Monument of sincere Friendship,

And as a Tribute of Acknowledgement for many Favours,

Are most respectfully inscribed

By his most humble and

Obedient Servant,

THOMAS NUGENT.

EDWARD R. H. STANLEY, ESQ.

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

CITY OF ROME, OBSERVED BY A STRANGER.

rated writer*, that it is impossible to be tired of so agreeable a subject as ancient Rome; and that strangers frequently neglect the modern palaces of that renowned capital, to turn in search of its ruins. The same remark may justly be extended to Italy in general, which since the restoration of learning has been the grand object of travellers, especially such as are desirous of treading on classic ground, and viewing with their own eyes those scenes upon which their imaginations have dwelt with pleasure from their earliest years in the writings of the Roman poets. Hence the descriptions of that delightful country have been multiplied to such a degree, that the very titles of the many books to the publication of which it has given occasion, would be sufficient to depreciate them. It is not our intention to depreciate the merit of those writings; most of them contain

* The problem mentioned.

P R E F A C E

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IT has been observed by a late celebrated writer *, that it is impossible to be tired of so agreeable a subject as ancient Rome; and that strangers frequently neglect the modern palaces of that renowned capital, to run in search of its ruins. The same remark may justly be extended to Italy in general, which since the restoration of learning has been the grand object of travellers, especially such as are desirous of treading on classic ground, and viewing with their own eyes those scenes, upon which their imaginations have dwelt with pleasure, from their earliest years, in the writings of the Roman poets. Hence the descriptions of that delightful country have been multiplied to such a degree, that the very titles of the many books, to the publication of which it has given occasion, would be sufficient to fill a volume. It is not our intention to depreciate the merit of those writings; most of them contain

* The president Montesquieu.

viii P R E F A C E.

contain a variety of curious and useful knowledge, and deserve our esteem, in proportion to the abilities of the writers, and the main object or view of their several publications.

Among these compositions none seem to be intitled to a greater share of the public favour, than the following *Observations on Italy and its Inhabitants*. They were published in France as the work of two Swedish gentlemen; but at present it is well known, they are the production of the very learned and ingenious M. Grosley. This gentleman is supposed to have assumed the the abovementioned title, with a view of prejudicing the public in favour of his performance. For in France it is a received and perhaps a just opinion, that foreign travellers are generally more attentive, more patient and less superficial than the French, and withal more judicious and impartial in their observations. Another reason assigned for his putting on this disguise, is the liberty he takes with his countrymen, in acquainting them with several disagreeable truths concerning their national foibles, which perhaps they would more easily excuse from the pen of a foreigner, than from that of a Frenchman. To which we may add, that as he is pretty free in exposing the abuses of

of his own religion, he might have been apprehensive of rendering himself obnoxious to the implacable malice of bigots and enthusiasts.

But since he has ventured to pull off the mask, the public, which from the very beginning applauded his performance, has paid him the tribute due to his personal merit. France has rung with his praises, and these have been echoed by the foreign journals in different parts of Europe*. Those who have most nicely examined into his excellencies, represent him as the philosophical traveller, who directs all his remarks, all his researches, to his own, or to his country's improvement: *Omnis exempli documenta intuetur, indeque sibi, suæque patriæ quod imitetur capit*†.

The present work is particularly distinguished from the relations of all other travellers by its profound researches on history, geography, antiquities, and the polite arts. In vain would it be to look for so much useful and interesting matter in the accounts of the generality of writers. Some perhaps may give a more ample detail of the situation of towns, others of the grandeur of palaces, and others

* See Bibliothèque des Sciences, tom. 24. p. 2. p. 388. and tom. 26. p. 1, 109.

† Livy.

x P R E F A C E.

of the sumptuousness and beauty of churches, of the variety and elegance of paintings, the number of inscriptions, and the antiquity of monuments. Our author enters upon a nobler and more comprehensive plan; he investigates the character, the manners, the customs, and the private life of the inhabitants of that much admired country. He gives us an idea of the revolutions, which have happened in the government of the different states of Italy; and of the changes, which those revolutions have produced in their policy and manners; from whence he takes an opportunity of drawing comparisons and reflexions applicable to other nations. The public administration, the state of religion, polite literature, commerce and the fine arts, are subjects which never fail to engage his attention; and his observations on those interesting topics, are constantly interspersed and enlivened with curious and amusing anecdotes. To conclude, his abilities as a painter of men and manners, *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes*, are so conspicuous, that he may well be allowed to exclaim with Correggio or the great Montesquieu, *ed io anche son pittore*, and I am a painter also.

P L A C E S

of the simplicity and beauty of chur-
ches of the variety and elegance of paint-
ings, the number of inscriptions, and the an-
tiquity of monuments. Our author enters

NANTUA	Page 4
GENEVA	9
SAVOY and the Alps	21
PIEDMONT	39
TURIN	41
VERCELLI, NOVARA, PAVIA and Lodi	54
MILAN	61
PLACENTIA	98
PARMA	101
REGGIO and MODENA	116
BOLOGNA	123
ROMANIA	142
RIMINI	146
LA CATOLICA	147
SAN MARINO	148
PEZARO	150
FANO	153
SINIGALLIA	158
RAVENNA	198
FERRARA	215
VENICE	232
PADUA	296
MONTSELICE	330
ANCONA	335
LORETTO	341
MACERATA	357
FOLIGNI	360
Pieces relative to the Article of Venice	375
SACRÉ RAYONNE of St. FRANCIS	413

ERRATA.

- Vol. I. p. 2. l. 6. *for manuturers read manufacturers*
 p. 9. l. 11. *f. president r. refident*
 p. 145. l. 9. *from the bottom, after his insert creature*
 p. 172. l. 7. *from the bottom, f. have r. has*
 p. 217. l. ult. *before which insert from*
 p. 227. l. 19. *f. spattered r. scattered*
 p. 247. l. 16. *f. head r. tread*
 p. 265. l. 3. *after that insert is*
 p. 294. l. 10. *from the bottom, f. in r. of*
 p. 340. l. 19. *before modern insert the*
 p. 359. l. 2. *f. laid r. lay*
 Vol. II. p. 2. l. 10. *f. is r. are*
 p. 211. l. 14. *f. mas r. mai*
 p. 245. l. 2. *f. Conradin r. Conrad*
 p. 347. l. ult. *f. lubricas r. lubricus*

mark favoured us with letters; and indeed, we owe the chief pleasure of our journey

opening to us the palace of the great, and being
ing us acquainted with the principal families

OBSERVATIONS

This allusion was the more essential to us, as

in our long stay at Paris, we had contracted a taste

of the French air; that is, the very worst of it

maintained us in a state of indolence, and made us

find no new interest in the world, and no new

between the two nations, but a perfect equality

French virtues: that is, too common and too

perfect to be admired; and that is, too

AFTER spending three years at Paris in all
the pleasures and amusements which strangers find
in that capital, we set out for Italy in the month
of June, 1758

The choice of this year proved very fortunate
for us. The summer heats were moderate, the
autumn very fine, and the winter in Italy as
mild as a favourable spring in France. As for-
tune never does any thing by halves for those to
whom it is propitious, we had not a single drop of
rain throughout the journey, though in settling
the times of staying in a place we never considered
fair or foul weather.

Besides letters of recommendation, which we
brought from Sweden, several persons of the first

rank favoured us with theirs: to these letters, indeed, we owe the chief pleasures of our journey, and the more successful pursuit of our studies, by opening to us the palaces of the great, and bringing us acquainted with the principal bankers, as likewise with the most ingenious artists and manufacturers.

This assistance was the more essential to us, as, in our long stay at Paris, we had contracted a cast of the French air; that is the very worst air a man can carry into Italy: not that the Italians retain any keen resentment of the former hostilities between the two nations; but they dread the French vivacity: this is too opposite to their phlegmatic disposition; and that freedom of behaviour, which a Frenchman daily gives into more and more, little agrees with their precise exactness in every point of decorum. In a word, Italy is infested with French adventurers, who subsist, and sometimes even make a figure, at the expence of those whom they draw in to be their dupes: so that to a Frenchman, or any one appearing to be such, Italy is like an enemy's country, all the avenues to which are locked up, and the several posts strictly guarded. The first care should be to make it plainly appear, that you are not an adventurer; then let it be seen that a lively deportment does not always exclude solidity of judgment; after all, with the very best recommendations, you must stand an enquiry of some length, but conducted on the side of the Italians with as much politeness

its reserve: if favourable, the fruit of it is friendship, and a friendship founded on that very same vivacity, which they delight in, when they are convinced they have nothing to apprehend from that quarter; a friendship which in its increase glows with as much warmth, as in its commencement it seemed to freeze with reserve and indifference. Thus far is meant to justify the Italians, and to prepare the French for a scene quite different from their manners, and far from agreeable; but without which they would only gaze on the Italians, in the same manner as they view their paintings and statues.

Leaving Paris the twentieth of May, we went to Lyons by the way of Troyes and Dijon, and from Lyons to Turin through Geneva, Savoy, and over mount Cenis, making such a stay at the places on the road as their consequence deserves. We returned to Paris by the way of Bourdeaux; so that our journey takes in a part of France, on which however we shall not publish our remarks, unless it should be at the desire of those very respectable personages to whom we could not refuse the following observations.

France is separated from Italy by a chain of mountains, disposed, as it were, to intercept all communication between the two finest countries in Europe.

Amidst the horror of these precipices, Nature offers to the philosopher the most interesting object, and for a skilful eye the most inviting,

to a painter the most romantic landscapes, and huge masses of rocks strangely contrasted; to the mere traveller prospects varying every step; terrasses, from whence the eye, at one glance, beholds the four seasons of the year; cascades beyond any thing which imagination can form; every wonder, in short, that art has in vain laboured to introduce into the gardens of sovereigns. Those, however, who are born and brought up in level countries, find themselves unable to repel that impression of melancholy, which the dreariness of this grand spectacle leaves on their minds. They cannot conceive, that creatures of their species can support life in so barren and so mis-shapen a country. The naturalist may tell them, with effusions of admiration, this country is Nature's laboratory; and would you, answer they, spend your whole life in a laboratory?

The sovereign of this dreary country is the duke of Savoy, whose dominions Virgil seems to have had in his eye, when he described those of Æolus. With regard to the nature of its soil, Nantua may be looked on as the chief place.

NANTUA.

This little town, which furnishes all Savoy with shoes, as the greatest part of its inhabitants indeed are shoemakers, has grown up close by the walls and under the protection of the abbey of Nantua, founded, during the first race of the kings of France, by St. Amand, to whom the celebrated

abbey in Flanders of that name likewise owes its foundation. These two abbeys have the same claim to his relics as the abbey of mount Cassin in Italy, and that of St. Benoît-sur-loire in France have to the relics of the patriarch of the Benedictines. The abbey of Nantua, originally very rich, has lost the greater part of its lay-lands. The neighbouring nobility have, in times of confusion, usurped some under specious pretences; and some they have seized by open force: it has even suffered sieges from the lords of Thoire and Villars. Another part the counts of Savoy have laid their hands on, under colour of guardianship and protection. By these losses the abbey of Nantua, no longer able to support the title, is reduced to a priory, dependent on Cluni.

Its buildings are shapeless remains of Gothic rudeness; the house, which consists only of a sub-prior, two monks, and some novices, all in a lay habit, has escaped the reform. I enquired of the sub-prior, whether the body or any monuments of Charles the bald, who died in crossing mount Cenis, and was buried at Nantua, were extant; but my enquiries of him, and my diligent search in the church, proved equally fruitless.

This monastery, and the town which depends on it, stand in an impervious valley, formed by lofty mountains; it is open towards the north, and almost entirely surrounded by a beautiful lake, which abounds with fish, and receives a small river. This river runs through the town and the

court-yards of the monastery. Within a little way of the town you come to a very steep brow of a hill, which, after intersecting the road, projects over the head of the lake. On this brow stands a mill, plentifully supplied with water, springing from the eastern part of the mountains. It discharges itself into a defile, which precipitates the superfluous stream down the steep of that mountain, the body of which crosses the road. These waters, in their fall, form a cascade, between twenty and thirty feet high, in a girandole perfectly circular. The waters happened to be playing when we came to Nantua: their position, the rocks at the bottom, the lake and the mountains which inclose it, together with the oblique rays of the sun illustrating the whole scene, exhibited a spectacle which we could not sufficiently admire.

The houses at Nantua are of wood, with very flat roofs, projecting a great way over the street, and every story beyond the other. This construction, however ridiculed by those who do not consider that towns are to be made for the convenience of the inhabitants, is here quite proper and necessary on account of the snows, with which Nantua is covered for some part of the year: the north wind drives them in heaps on the houses, and great quantities are also precipitated from the mountain; and these, by the almost horizontal inclination and the projecture of the roofs, are carried into the middle of the street; so that the

the entrance and communication of the houses are never obstructed.

This country has only a nominal relation to the Nantuates, a people of Switzerland, mentioned by Cæsar and Pliny. The country of those ancient Nantuates was Le Valais and Le Chablais.

In Savoy, Switzerland, and all over the Alps, are several lakes, greater or less than that of Nantua. The most general position of these lakes shews them to have been formed after the deluge by the waters that fell down from the mountains, as it is at the feet of such eminences that all these reservoirs are found. Towards the end of the universal inundation they were of the same nature as the basons in a river, which receive the waters issuing from the depths and floodgates: the water, in scooping these basons, partly inclosed them, by the several substances thus detached from the bottom, and gathering into a continued heap like a bar or bank.

Between Nantua and Geneva, at the foot of mount Credo, is another natural wonder. The Rhone, after passing by fort L'Ecluse, and under Gresin bridge, ingulphs itself within rocks, through which it has, as it were, filed a passage; here it loses itself under ground, and at the distance of a hundred paces rises again. Before it is thus ingulphed, it receives a river, of which I could not learn the name; but it is crossed at Belle Garde bridge, and its waters, like that of the Rhone, are of a dark blue, with a scum. This has likewise eaten itself a pas-

sage, but very narrow, through rocks, on the correspondent surfaces of which are perfect figures of water-buckets, or large pottage pots, the rotundity of one answering to the interval of two opposites: nothing can be more disagreeable than the noise of the confined waters, clashing among these pots; it is indeed the *ferri stridor*, or the grating of a file on a saw.

Before these rocks became thus excavated, or the Rhone had made its way into the abyss, where it is absorbed, its waters, being supported by the ground under which it now runs, may be concluded to have formed a lake between these mountains of France, which are commanded by fort L'Ecluse, and those of Savoy; those huge masses being in such a correspondent disposition, as to form a basin for receiving the waters to whatever height they had risen.

We had more leisure to take a view of this country than we desired; in our ascent up mount Credo which was by means of two yokes of oxen, one of the braces of our chaise broke on the side of the precipice, along which the road lies, and the remaining half days journey we accomplished on foot.

We reached Geneva on the 12th of June: at a small distance from it we saw the gate of a most beautiful garden open, when out came a very handsome chaise, and, to our great surprise, two jesuits in it. We were afterwards informed that this same garden is M. Voltaire's so celebrated

Delices;

Delices; that the jesuits have on the last line, which separates the country of Gex from Geneva, a house or receptacle; and that these fathers live very sociably with that gentleman. These explanations removed our wonder at such an appearance within the cannon of Geneva: but we were farther given to understand, that many a jesuit had been seen at Geneva; father la Chaise, having availed himself of the submission of the republic to Lewis XIVth's demands that jesuits might live there, and appear in public, as chaplains to the French president.

G E N E V A.

This city is remarkable for its situation, independency, religion, and commerce: formerly it stood only on that hill, which is the key of lake Lemman, at the part where the Rhone issues out of that lake; and this river was one of its chief defences: it has gradually, like all ancient towns built on mountains, sunk down into the level, so that now the efflux of the Rhone is within its circuit. In its primitive situation it enjoyed a very healthy air, with a view of the whole lake which it commanded, and at the same time all the advantages arising from this lake, either for the necessaries of life, or the convenience of trade; whereas, by removing into the level, it has lost the defence of the Rhone, has plunged itself amidst the continual fogs and vapours of the lake; and as for the boasted walks

walks of *Treille* and *Rain-palais*, they are by no means equal to that of the *plat-forme*.

Its fortifications, though sufficient against a sudden assault, would not stand a formal siege. I was greatly surprised at finding a Swiss garrison here, having always imagined that Geneva had guarded itself. At the *corps de garde* of the gates, are only some of the republic's servants, whose business is to examine the passports of strangers; but I much question whether, in case of an attack, they would be of any great service either for action or advice.

St. Peter's church was the cathedral of Geneva, till the revolution in 1535. It is in the taste of the French cathedrals, of the 14th and 15th centuries, with a new portal, designed by a Genevan, who has united simplicity, majesty, and grandeur. It is a portico of the doric order, supported by columns of a very exact proportion. The consistory's scrupulous regard to the first commandment of the decalogue, would not allow the architect the least decoration for the tympan of the pediment, with which this portico is crowned. It is the like religious aversion for graven images, which keeps the fine tomb of the famous duke de Rohan so closely confined under lock and key, yet the organ, which at length has been admitted, intimates a relaxness, which bids fair to set his grace at liberty. In that part of the church, which was the chancel, is still seen the bishop's throne, crowded with sculptures and basso relievo's,

of the 15th century, but extremely disfigured and mutilated by the adz and hatchet. They might with little difficulty have been totally planed away; perhaps they are left to stand as monuments of the zeal of the former Genevans.

This zeal, though with some abatement, still prevails at Geneva, at least in the consistory; and of this the result is a religion, (a) not so much adapted to common people, as to philosophers, disposed to embrace it by choice. This religion may, in many respects, be compared with the Sabine institutes, in which King Numa had been educated, by Livy termed *disciplinam tristem et teretricam Sabinorum*.

Not that Calvin's doctrine is maintained at Geneva in all its rigour. It has been much softened by Arminianism, and, as far as I can learn, the charge in the Encyclopedia, on more important and more capital articles, is not without grounds. To me the French divines seem to have declined taking all the advantage which this charge played into their hands. Instead of joining in the invectives of the consistory of Geneva, against Mr. D'Alembert, as a slanderer, they should have turned over their ancient controversies, where, in every page, they would have seen that Calvinism would some time or other lead its followers to Deism, and thus have blessed the Lord for the accomplishment of that prediction.

(a) M. Pascal says, that a religion wholly intellectual is not made for the people.

I do

I do not take upon me to say that the consistory of Geneva have espoused socinianism unanimously and openly: some of the old ministers stick to the ancient forms, but these old ministers are no longer in vogue, not even among the commonalty, and when they preach, they may almost be said to preach to the walls. Private instruction allows certain latitudes, with regard to revelation, original sin, the punishments and rewards of a future life, which public instruction neither opposes nor overthrows.

Geneva, however, is not without very considerable means for the education of youth: the public library has made good use of Miffon's hints for its improvement; it is greatly increased, and by the care of M. Jallabert, who had the direction of it many years, it is enriched with a museum of antiquities and natural history. When we were at Geneva, a gentleman of the name of Lullin had just succeeded M. Jallabert in that capacity, on his promotion to be a counsellor of state.

The college is in a very flourishing condition, and not so much by pecuniary assistances from the state, as by the zeal of the professors, who are attached to this college from father to son, and whose next step is generally into the council of the republic; besides being themselves fathers of families, their own hearts tell them the measure, both of the indulgence which education allows, and of the strictness which it requires. Emulation is excited

here

here by prizes, which the state itself distributes with great solemnity, after very rigid examinations, without the least suspicion of partiality. These prizes are silver medals, and when a youth has obtained one, all his relations make him a present of those which they got in the same class; these presents make his cabinet of medals, which is as a pledge to his family of his application, and the continuance of his successes. The first prize is for writing, which I never saw any where but here; the worst composed theme, if its writing be the best, carries the first prize.

Geneva received part of its political laws from Calvin: mistrusting the spirit of domineering, in the very clergy so recently formed by himself, he has directed that the consistory is not to take any resolution, even in a case purely ecclesiastic, but jointly with a certain number of magistrates, and that its assemblies and deliberations shall be held in a place open to all the world.

Sumptuary laws are observed, with all the strictness necessary in a small state, subsisting only by the industry of its inhabitants. I have been surprized that these laws should have allowed the sumptuous edifices, lately built by private persons along the *Treille* walk: they utterly dissolve the spirit of equality, which should be the leading object of sumptuary laws.

They to whom the care of the public morality is committed, are likewise relaxed from their primitive rigour. By the former laws, he who re-

fused

refused marrying a girl of whom he had obtained the gratification of his desires, was to suffer death. This at present is abated to a strict process, which is carried on by the concurrence of both powers, and the upshot is a sum of money, proportioned to the seducer's wealth and the condition of the girl. During our stay at Geneva, such a suit was commenced against a very pretty young fellow of the canton of Zurich, who had deluded a Genevan girl. Whether it was from the fear of incurring the displeasure of his family, which was very wealthy, whereas the girl had little or nothing, or whether it was in consequence of a fresh amour; he failed in his promise to her; on which the girl applied for justice, and he was imprisoned. We often saw him at the grates with his hair drest, and in all the glitter of a beau. A few days ago he was confronted with his adversary, who, falling at his feet, poured forth her lamentations and complaints in the most pathetic manner. This scene lasted some time, and was so affecting, that the youth fell into a swoon; and the very judges, among whom were several aged ministers, could not refrain from tears. It was hoped that this would revive the faithless lover's tenderness; the principal heads of the consistory indeed made it their business, but whether they succeeded we know not.

This consistory not only preaches, but summons those who are wanting in the duties of religion, and a smart reprimand they undergo; these reprimands are sometimes given by deputies, as when a re-
gard

gard is due to the station of the persons who are the objects of it.

I was amazed to hear that the notion of witches stood its ground in Geneva since the settlement of the reformation there; and that even, about the middle of the last century, an old woman had been solemnly burnt on a charge of sorcery. Certainly some body of men found it their interest to reserve this prejudice for their occasional use, since it could survive so many other prejudices, to which, though more entitled to regard than that absurdity, the Geneva reformers had given no quarter.

It would unquestionably be a mistake to imagine that, amidst continual preachments, under the eyes of so watchful a consistory, and with laws in which no duty is overlooked, the people of Geneva answer its anagram mentioned by Milson (*respublica Genevensis, gens sub caelis vere pia*). No where is the thirst of gain more predominant: and hence that attachment to work, that industry, that sobriety, that suppleness and acuteness, for which the Genevans are so remarkable. If Plato was right in denying that probity is to be found in a city of shops and warehouscs, at least Geneva is not the place to seek for it. I will even venture to say, that the religion of Geneva is too sublime, too metaphysical, and too much divested of every sensible object, to influence the manners of a people; for which the mind must be affected, and the heart engaged. It has more of the school of the Portico or Lyceum, than of any kind of worship.

ship. It was for want of sensitive objects in their religion, that the Israelites set up the golden calf at the foot of mount Horeb, and this being nearly the case with the Genevans, they have set up interest for their golden calf. As to the Genevan sages saying that their religion is pure christianity, the christianity of the primitive church, *sacro-sancta Christi religio in suam puritatem reposita*, as it stands on the front of the town house; they cannot but know that the christianity of the primitive church was the religion not of a people casually born in it, but of sublime, elect, and sanctified souls, *electi, vocati, sancti*, who embraced it from choice, who, on their initiation into it, sacrificed all the desires of flesh and blood, and whose most delightful hope was martyrdom.

The Geneva conversation, in general, has more of the German than the French; among the men it is carried on in clubs, who hire a chamber where they resort in the evenings to smoke, talk politics, and chat about private concerns, and the news of the town. The women have their meetings on sundays, with amusements in their way; and, for more particular parties, here are little villa's in abundance, and very much frequented.

The Italian reservedness and the German phlegm prevail in the conversation of the Genevans, both among themselves and with foreigners; if some few have any tincture of French manners, it is by imitating the politeness of the inhabitants of Dauphiné.

We

We must not omit observing here, that Geneva has partly realized Dr. Swift's project, in his *Great Mystery, or art of meditating in a house of office*. On that part of the lake which faces the upper town, very large easements have been lately built, divided into seats, with slight partitions on each side, most about *elbow high*, as the doctor directs, *for the conveniency of conversation*. I went there one morning, and taking my seat in the center, shared in a very sprightly conversation, among several women, some of whom were busy, and others waiting their turn.

Trade at Geneva, instead of waiting at home for customers, travels in quest of them, and, wherever it can be promoted, the Genevans never fail to repair.

Its principal branches are clocks and watches, jewelry, muslins, and the finer sort of linens.

A great part of the clock and watch pieces are made among the mountains of Swisserland; this being the occupation of the inhabitants during the snowy season. Most of them have at Geneva set watch-makers, who purchase these pieces of them half wrought, and work them up into watches; which, with indefatigable industry, they dispose of over Germany, France, and Spain. They likewise export great numbers to the houses which several of these Geneva dealers have at Paris, or to watchmakers of that city, who get their name put on them, and then sell them for their own work.

London was formerly as good a customer to Geneva as Paris itself; but the English having extended this manufacture among themselves and their dependencies, at present do without the

Genevans; or if they take any of their goods, it must be at their own price. This proceeding has so far cooled the mighty fondness of the Genevans for them, that they now openly declare the English to be a parcel of mere Jews, who would have others take every thing from them, without their taking the least thing from others. From England it is, however, that they still have the far greater part of their cloth, both for home consumption and for sending to Italy, and likewise that which they smuggle into France; at the same time owning that the French clothes, at least those of the first sort, are preferable to the English.

The last war, being very detrimental to the jewel trade in France, had driven a great number both of workmen and dealers from Paris; and the present war has occasioned a still more considerable emigration. The Genevans have received them kindly, and set them to work; so that jewelry at present fully repairs the breach, which the industry of the English had made in their watch trade: they seem even in a fair way to supplant France in that considerable branch. The standard of the gold and silver which they work up is left to themselves; but the standard is what a fine lady or a fopling, who must have a snuff-box or a tweezer, little concern themselves about: besides, here is no duty to be paid; and as to the duties of import into France and Spain, their way of eluding those inconveniences is this: The Genevan dealer and his servant set out from Geneva well mounted, and with two portmanteaus stocked with watches and trinkets; the master is in a Swiss half uniform, and, at every pass and gate of a town,

town, claps on a cockade; to every *Qui va la?* his answer is *Officier Suisse*, and he goes on without further ceremony.

The Geneva trade consists chiefly in muslins, calicoes, lawns, and flowered linen. The greater part of the muslins worn in France come from hence, and Geneva has them from Swisserland. In the last war Geneva even supplied the sale at port L'Orient with these goods, which otherwise must have failed by the delay of the India company's returns. As to these matters, all Swisserland may be looked on as one vast manufacture, in which every advantage concentrates; entire freedom, exemption from all duties, plenty of the raw substances, cheapness of labour, and the incessant industry of a very laborious people. It must have been by means more effectual than schemes, memoirs, and dissertations, that Geneva and Basle have contrived to put off, to the very utmost it was possible, the prohibition of printed cottons in France. A pretty nice conjecture of the advantages or disadvantages of such prohibition, with respect to that kingdom, might have been formed only from the bustle and consternation of the traders of those two cities. Since the cessation of it, they give over that very profitable branch of their commerce as lost for ever, when the return of peace shall reduce the price of cotton and dying drugs in France.

The result of this account shews, that the balance of a very considerable trade between France, Swisserland, and the Genevans, is entirely in favour of the latter, who take nothing from France but corn; and this makes but a very slender de-

duction from the sums which the payment of the Swiss troops draws from France; and this trade is always such as to be entirely to their advantage, whether part of the corn be remitted into Germany, or, as sometimes is done, they re-import into France that same corn, which is always with a considerable profit.

Among the channels which bring French money to Geneva, may be reckoned the celebrated Tronchin, who is to this city what Esculapius was to the district of Epidaurus. As the Romans took that god out of his temple, and brought him to Rome; so have the French drawn Mr. Tronchin to Paris: but he made no long stay there.

When we passed through Geneva, M. Voltaire was at the *Delices*, with his nieces and a young spark his nephew. We waited on them, and were charmed with their œconomy and manner of living; it is enough to say, the honours of the house are performed by M. Voltaire.

*Gratia, fama, valetudo contingit abunde,
Et lautus victus non deficiente crumena.*

He was then exercising a company of actors, whose theatre was a quarter of a league both from the *Delices* and from Geneva, but in the territories of Savoy. One of the two days which I spent with him, the actors came to rehearse his *Merope*, in which he assisted them, reading every sentence after them, at first in a low languid voice, but gradually assuming the fire of the composition.

Non

*Non vultus, non color unus,
Nec comptæ mansere comæ, sed pectus anbelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri
Nec mortale sonans.*

And from this fire issued like so many scintillations, the reasons he gave to his actors for modulating the voice, for raising, or lowering the utterance, for animating or moderating the gesture, for quickening or slackening the dialogue (*a*). I do not know that I was ever so entertained and affected at a play, as at this rehearsal.

On taking my leave of M. Voltaire, he favoured me with his picture, accompanied with a singular preservative against the Inquisition's flames, should it be disposed to destroy or disfigure the picture,

SAVOY and the ALPS.

Savoy begins at the gates of Geneva, which was formerly a part of it; but now their territories are separated by the Arva. The people of that part of Savoy which we travelled through, except the cantons of Chambery and Maurienne, carry in their air and countenance the impress of the rigours of that climate. The animated part of the spectacle, which nature offers here, consists of faces of a livid paleness, huge wens, meagre and languid bodies. And besides physical sufferings, these poor people labour

(*a*) According to Cicero, there is no doing any thing to the purpose in this exercise, but *cum summo labore, stomacho, miseriâque*. Jam enim, adds he (and to whom can it be better applied than to M. Voltaire) *quo quisque in eo genere solertior est & ingeniosior hoc docet iracundius*. Pro Rosc. Comæd.

under political pressures. In times of peace, they are not dispensed from keeping the militia on foot. The imposts, if they may be believed, are enormous; and well may they seem such, however slender in themselves, as scarce leaving to those on whom they are levied wherewith to keep life and soul together; and, what still aggravates these oppressive burdens is the severity of levying them. Judging of their sovereign by themselves, believing all his dominions to be like their craggs, and struck with the appearance of opulence and grandeur which France displays in comparison of their country, they could wish Savoy united to France; imagining, to be sure, that a potent monarch could not find in his heart to require any thing from such a country as theirs. Yet it seems cultivated as far as practicable, although it may be presumed, that, by some abatement in the levies of men and money, it would be both better cultivated and better peopled, as thus the people's industry, who are both very sober and very laborious, would be able to exert itself.

ANNECY is beholden for its subsistence to the devotion paid to the relics of St. Francis de Sales, and the money of strangers whom that devotion draws hither. CHAMBERY affords nothing remarkable but its delightful situation, and this is but a very relative beauty, which, in any other country, would not take the eye so much. Here we fell in company with two Swiss officers in the king of Sardinia's service; they came from Berne, their native country, and were going to do duty at Turin. The elder (Mr. Charmer), besides his having frequently travelled this road, is a gentleman of literature,

ture, great parts and politeness, and perfectly acquainted with Italy, so that no company could better suit our taste and the object of our travels.

At supper, which cemented our acquaintance, was a young English gentleman, under the tuition of a man in a riding-coat, with a supercilious look, a wild stare, totally ignorant of the English language, murdering the French, and his behaviour rough and pedantic: in a word, very little qualified for the function of Mentor to a young traveller. The Swissers began the conversation with him; it turned on the Romish religion, that of Swisserland, and that of England. The jesuits were descanted on at large, as they now are every where. Another member of the company was a Spanish friar, who, from his own knowledge of Paraguay, maintained, that all the forces of Spain and Portugal put together were not sufficient to wrest that country from the jesuits. The said Mentor engrossed the whole talk, and held forth on all these points so, that we might not in the least doubt of his being a good church of England man. He and his Telemachus setting off the next day before us, we understood that the pupil was a catholic, and his governor a jesuit of Turin, carrying him back to England. The Swissers, so far from being concerned for the freedom of their evening's table-talk, seemed to wish that they might meet with many more such adventures.

At Chambery are two ways for passing the Alps: one by the Tarentaise, which, after skirting the Isere, opens by mount St. Bernard into the valley of Aoust; the other by Maurienne,

which, ascending the Arche or Arc for about twenty leagues, ends at mount Cenis. The latter is the most frequented, as indeed the least difficult, *est enim*, says Ammianus Marcellinus, *e Galliis venientibus pronâ humilitate devexa*. This continual declivity, which the Arche follows in its fall, leads almost insensibly to the summit of mount Cenis. The Isere, less rapid than the Arche, the slope of its bed being more gradual, leads to the foot of mountains, which, on their arrival, travellers are obliged to scale.

It must not be imagined that the passes in the Alps, where the known roads terminate, are like the famous Caspian gates in mount Caucasus, straits with gates to shut, and where a small detachment may put a whole army to a stand, if the Greek historians and modern travellers have not imposed on us, or they themselves been imposed on. The Alps are open on all sides to those who are acquainted with the defiles, the straits, the issues and communications. Whatever advantage such an acquaintance with the country may be of to the people for their defence, we find that in all ages foreign armies have succeeded in making their way through it.

The most celebrated of these enterprizes is that of Hannibal, and against many disadvantages, a frozen climate insupportable to an army of Africans and Spaniards, a total ignorance of the country, which was all up in arms, the trouble occasioned by the elephants and the incumbrance of the several machines appertaining to ancient artillery. His opening a way through a rock by dissolving it with vinegar, has been pompously celebrated by the Latin historians and poets, not
consistering

considering the *fides Punica*; and these have been blindly followed by the crowd of commentators and succeeding historians. Polybius mistrusting the matter repaired in person to the spot; and in the account which, from this survey, he gives of Hannibal's crossing the Alps into Italy, the story of the rock is found to be no more than an accident very common to roads made in mountainous countries, that is the falling in, for the length of a stade and a half, of the ground which formed the road, on the side of a steep rock. This accident, which, after viewing the ground, Polybius might have taken for the last effort of the mountaineers enmity against Hannibal, retarded that general's march, putting him under a necessity of trying some other passage, and, finding none, of returning to the rock, and clearing away there; an operation which took up the whole Carthaginian army four days. Most authors, who mention this operation, say that his intention was to open a way through the very rock; but what was much easier and answered the same end, was only repairing the way which had fallen down, and was no more than a causeway of stones laid one over the other, and resting against the side of the rock; such to this day is the road down the Alps in many places. Livy expresses this operation by a word which is differently read, but the import nearly the same: *milites ducti ad rupem muniendam* or *minuendam*. The first reading which comes nearer to Polybius's τὸ κρημνὸν ἐξοχοδομεῖν, indicates the road raised on the ruins of the former; the second, the use made of the rock itself, by taking from its mass part of the stones necessary for making the causeway.

Polybius

Polybius omits the means of the operation, saying only, το κρεμνόν ἐξοκοδόμει μετὰ πόλλης τῆς ταλαιπωρίας: and Livy, in saying that a way of a stade and a half was opened in the very rock, has preferred the marvellous to the probable. (a) To reconcile this fact with the brevity of Polybius's relation and to the indications which the present state of the ground furnisheth, may it not be said that Hannibal fell to work on the rock with every method used for that kind of operation, before gunpowder was found out: that at first he availed himself of the fissures or crevices along the top and the side of the rock, for breaking away as much as possible of the surface, and, when totally stripped, he caused it to be torrifed, that the action of the fire might open fresh chasms in it? This method we may suppose he owed to the Spaniards in his army, that being practised in working their mines.

As to the vinegar made use of, it was anciently very common in armies, and several ways useful to the soldiers, to whom it was distributed by allowances; and no less beneficial would it be to our troops: it was one of the strongest dissolvents known to the ancients, and the Spaniards to this day make use of it, together with fire, for dissolving pieces of an ore mine, blown up by gunpowder. Thus the remaining objection does not lye in the using vinegar for an operation of this kind, nor in the difficulty of finding a requisite quantity in such a country, but only in the impossibility of inject-

(a) *Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque modicis anfractibus clivos, ut non jumenta solum, sed et elephanti deduci possint.*

ing it on the body of an ignited rock, almost red hot.

Had I foreseen that this discussion would have led me so far, I should not have meddled with it; they whom it may disgust will be so kind as to excuse it, and likewise indulge me in a few observations concerning the place where Hannibal crossed the Alps.

What light the ancients have left us on this head, is lost in the obscurity of the places they mention, in the uncertainty of later writers on the site of those places, and in the alterations of their names. Were the tradition of the country to decide, it was certainly mount St. Bernard which Hannibal passed. From that so memorable passage, numberless authors say this part of the Alps came to be distinguished by the name of *Alpes Pennine*; and on this road is still shewn the rock, which, according to the same tradition, passes for that opened by Hannibal, with some supposed remains of a Punic inscription, intended by that general as a memorial of such a signal achievement. But Simler's conjectures for his having passed by the way of mount Cenis or mount Genevre, appear to me better grounded, 1st as Hannibal began his march from Dauphiné, mount Genevre and mount Cenis faced him; 2d ten days brought him from the banks of the Rhone to the Alps; 3d from the summit of these mountains he had a view of Piedmont, of which he availed himself to encourage his army against the difficulties of the descent. Now of all the Alpine mountains which have an issue into Italy, it is only from the tops of mount Cenis and mount Genevre that Piedmont can be discovered. 4th to these arguments let me add that the Carthaginian

thaginian army being stopped on the summit of the Alps, by the falling in of the road, encamped four days on that summit with its elephants and all its baggage, *castra in ipso jugo posita*; the summit of mount Cenis afforded them a level of near two leagues, as if made for the encampment of so considerable an army; whereas I know from a survey of my own, that neither mount Saint Bernard nor mount Genevre, have any thing like such a spacious surface. In a word, though the descent along mount Cenis has been improved by immense works, though the greater part of its present road be formed amidst the very rocks blown up by mines, yet are there some places, where the road, as formed of broken fragments of rocks heaped up, might either by an accidental fall, or being over set by the country people, throw an army whose route lay behind it, into the same plunge as Hannibal's was.

The chevalier Follard, Vol. IV. lays out Hannibal's march along mount Lens, the Lautaret, mount Genevre, the defile of Sestrieres and the valley of Pragelas: he will by no means allow mount St. Bernard the honour of this famous passage; as to mount Cenis, at that time, says he, "it was inaccessible to an army," and he adds, "I even question whether this passage was open in those times."

Allowing this assertion, and his doubt to be of equal weight: it may be observed that Maurienne, as a spot tolerably pleasant, in the midst of a most dismal country, was in ancient times one of the best peopled, and consequently one of the best known and most frequented cantons of the country of the Allobrogians, and had a bishop even in the primitive

five times of christianity ; that the river on which its capital stands, led, in going up it, to mount Cenis, through a long chain of valleys or defiles, more or less open ; that on the plot at the summit of this mountain is a road, the like scarce to be met with in the finest plains. Lastly, that the reasons for which this road has ever been deemed the *Strada Romana*, and for which it is now the most known, and the most frequented of all the Alpine roads, must in very early ages have pointed it out to observation, and consequently opened it.

To these considerations in favour of mount Cenis it may be subjoined, that, according to Polybius, that is according to the very text of the chevalier Follard, Hannibal before he marched his army among the mountains, had for ten days successively skirted a river, which in the chevalier Follard's opinion could be no other than the Isere ; 2d that the country people having made dispositions for opposing his passage, he, after his first march, encamped in valleys, the heights of which they were possessed of, and that having in the night made himself master of those heights, he, by a forced march the next day reached the mountaineers chief town, *Castellum*, says Livy, *quod erat caput ejus regionis*. Now I would ask those who are best acquainted with the frontiers of Savoy and Dauphiné, for instance Mr. Bourcet, whether a march of ten days along the Isere, from its influx into the Rhone, did not bring Hannibal to the line, which running parallel to this river, at present separates the territories of France and those of Savoy ; whether this ten days march did not reach a great way beyond mount Lens, where the chevalier Follard begins his route through
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the Alps; whether the *caput ejus regionis*, to which after leaving the Isère, he fought his way in two small days journey, does not denote, *St. Jean de Maurienne*; in a word whether at such a height, in going up the Isère, and whether at this distance from that same height, there was any other chief town or capital of a canton besides *St. Jean de Maurienne*.

Let it be further observed that Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. c. 20. whose authority the said chevalier produces, has left us a particular description of several roads laid open at different times, for going from Italy into Gaul. He first explicitly describes that which the chevalier Follard delineates as Hannibal's, by mount Genevre, *Matronæ Verticem*, and Briançon, *castellum Virgantiam*. Afterwards speaking of the real road which Hannibal took, he makes him go, *per Tricastinos et oram Vocontiorum extremam, ad Saltus Tricorios*. Now had the informations preserved by tradition and history concerning this expedition, corresponded with the chevalier's system, Amianus Marcellinus, without bewildering his readers by particularizing these cantons, would only have said that Hannibal took the road which he had described along mount Genevre and Briançon.

We shall now close these observations with noticing that the six marches which, from the chief town Hannibal had made himself master of at his entrance among the Alps, brought him to the foot of the summit of these mountains, to use Polybius's terms, exactly fill up the distance between *St. Jean de Maurienne*, and the foot of mount Cenis. As to the engagement with the mountaineers which

which disturbed his fifth march, it may be placed between Bramens and Soliers, in a kind of tunnel formed by mountains opening to the right, whilst on the left the Arche, confined by a craggy mountain, along which it winds, leaves but a very narrow way in the flanks of this mountain, which may be the same on whose top Hannibal with half his army spent a very bad night.

From Chambery, after crossing the Isere, beyond Montmelian, we came on the twenty second of June, to Aiguebel. It must certainly be by way of antiphrasis, that such a pretty name was given to such a disagreeable place: with the sky perfectly serene and clear, all the horizon was covered with a thick brownish red fog, of a very nauseous smell, and so early as five in the evening, the sun had left Aiguebel; a water or rather a yellowish scum, very offensive both to the smell and sight, trickled down from all parts of the mountains, which intercepted its light. In the village is a sort of a well, the bottom of which rung with the grating sibilations of the waters of the Arche, and the noise of the fragments of rocks rolling with its current. The several mines of metals with which these mountains are enriched, could not reconcile our imagination to this dismal place. We were however entertained with an extraordinary phænomenon, quite unforeseen. An hour after the sun had disappeared, and by its absence and the fog, night seemed to have taken place, a ray darting, between a vista in the mountains, and, piercing the fog, blazed like a luminous body, and for the space of five or six minutes

minutes diffused a clear light, throughout the whole valley.

The inhabitants of such a place, I concluded must be Autochthones, and my curiosity led me to pay a visit to the oldest man in the place, who was a farrier. I asked him whether he or his father had ever known any stranger to come and settle at Aiguebel; he answered with an oath that Aiguebel's blood had never been mixed with any foreign blood, except travellers and the canons of its little collegiate church: this was his answer. Then he asked me news about France, and what I thought of the beauties of Aiguebell, and all with a cheerfulness which surprized me. Afterwards I set the whole place in motion to get me change for a French crown, but it was not to be had: all whom I asked told me, as it were, with one voice, that within a few days the tax-gatherers had been about, and swept Aiguebel of every sou.

The Arche which we had again met with there, carried us to mount Cenis: its bed is a kind of escalier more or less steep, and clogged with masses of rocks, which it carries along with a thundering clatter: it is increased by all the waters of the streights, which terminate at its bed, and by water-falls from perpendicular rocks. The cascades which are very common, and at a distance taken for perpendicular plat-bands of snow, are as far beyond any thing of the kind in any European prince's palace, as the finest cascades there are beyond those of the Paris opera. The clearness of the waters is heightened by the bottom of the rock over which they run without touching it; these are generally fragments of rocks, having a perpendicular perforation

perforation through their centre, and tinged with a ferruginous colour differently shaded. The manner of these cascades reaching the bottom, likewise drew my attention; I could not but admire a sheet ten feet broad, and falling from a height of a hundred feet, yet in appearance rather gently resting itself on the spot where it falls, with a slight ebullition.

The place we lay at, after leaving Aiguebel, was still worse, as, besides the same dismal situation, it is no uncommon thing for gangs of banditti to surprize passengers in their beds; however we had the good fortune to escape them. From thence, farther among the Alps, opposite to Bramens, is a hamlet called Abries or Abris, on the left of the Arche.

This I take to be the place where died Charles the Bald, and not at Bryon nor Briord in Bresse, as the Bressians had told me. And, indeed the annals of St. Bertin, in their account of the death of this prince say, that in his return from Italy being, by the poison which his physician had given him, taken ill in crossing mount Cenis, he stopped at a place called Brios, where he sent for Richilda his consort, who was waiting for him at St. Jean de Maurienne, and that after lying eleven days in that condition he expired in *vilissimo tugurio*, a very mean cottage. Had this Brios been in Bresse, Richilda must have been there along with her husband, whether she had come from France to meet him, or whether, after accompanying him in his Italian expedition, she had returned over the Alps before him. In the first case, being come so far as St. Jean de Maurienne, she must have met him

there; and especially in the irrecoverable condition in which he then was, she would have accompanied him to Bresse and not have stayed at St. Jean. In the other case, he would have taken her with him at his passing through St. Jean de Maurienne, so that from every circumstance, this hamlet must have stood between the last town and mount Cenis. Almost all the contemporary annals, and from them the chronicles of St. Denis, relate that in the very place where Charles died, "his attendants ripped open his body and took out the intrails, and having well washed and embalmed them, put them in a case, intending to carry them to St. Denis's church in France, he having chosen that place for his interment; but beginning to smell strong, and the stench increasing so as to become intolerable, they buried him at Vercelli in the church of St. Eusebius the Martyr." This the annals of St. Bertin contradict, saying, that Nantua was the place of his interment: It was not till several years after his death that his son and the monks of St. Denis, who had tasted largely of his munificence, caused his remains to be translated to St. Denis (a); and to this last duty nothing less than two visions could induce them.

The indifference with which this emperor's body was embalmed, and left on the road, the uncertainty of the historians of his age on the place of his interment, the oblivion in which he lay for several years, the remissness of later writers to find out and ascertain, whether Nantua was really his burial place, as St. Bertin's annals affirm, or Ver-

(a) Chron. de St. Denis, celli,

celly, according to the chronicle of St. Denis, and other annals of those times, so many neglects do not shew any great regard for Charles's memory. He had almost accomplished the re-union of the scattered limbs of his grandfather Charlemain's empire; but an ambition without views, giddy and incoherent politics, a blind confidence in worthless people, of these united limbs made but a skeleton ill put together, so that it soon fell to pieces, and the Carolingian race was involved in its ruin.

We crossed mount Cenis the day before Midsummer-day, and it was the first time we had felt what might be called real hot weather. In our ascent, however, we saw snow in several places. On our reaching the spacious level which extends itself along the summit, we found a most beautiful sky and clear air, and the ground all over covered with very lively verdure and flowers almost in bloom. Among these flowers we observed some narcissus's, and most beautiful ranunculus's of a jonquille yellow, with something of that smell; also pansy violets with very large petals, and a fragrancy equal to any orange-flower essence. But the very next day being Midsummer-day, all this verdure and these charming flowers were to be given up to the flocks of the neighbouring country, which come annually on that day, to take possession of the summit, there remaining till the snowy weather.

We stopped at a priory in the middle of the plain, having supped the evening before with the prior, who had invited us to refresh ourselves at his house. On our coming there, we found the cloth laid, excellent wine and trouts which he had

just caught, in a lake facing his hermitage, at the bottom of a kind of cup, which the summit of mount Cenis forms. The colour, firmness, and taste of the trouts, which the prior himself ordered to be dressed, might induce epicures to come to mount Cenis, were it only to feast themselves on the spot. This hospitality the prior shews to all pilgrims whom he accounts capable of placing a due value on his trouts, and in the acknowledgment of the pilgrims consists the best part of the priory's revenue. We desired him to put up some slips of anemonies with seeds of violets and other flowers, leaving him a direction to Lyons with a six livre crown-piece as a gratuity; but unfortunately this commission slipped his memory.

Out of the lake breeding these excellent trouts, issues the lesser Doria, on the side of which lies the descent into Italy; but to the account given of the above plain, where this lake is, we must add, for the satisfaction of the naturalists, that the kind of cup formed by it, is bordered with very lofty eminences, so that literally it cannot be said to be on the summit of mount Cenis. Half way up the side of one of these eminences, and equal with the priory, it is, that the plains of Piedmont first come in sight; and this may be the spot from whence Hannibal shewed them to his army! *In promontorio quodam unde longe et late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus, Italiam ostendit, subjectosque Alpibus montibus circum-padanos campos.*

We crossed mount Cenis in the usual carriage, that is, a hand-barrow like a hurdle, fixed to two sticks. This is the carriage which the noblest grandees must take up with in passing the Alps,

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the fare-hire is not unreasonable, and is settled by the king of Sardinia at so much per carrier, but the number of carriers for those who come from France, is left to the syndic of Lasneburgh. On our arrival this syndic came to us, and after, as it were, measuring and weighing us by the eye, he pronounced that we should want fourteen carriers, six for me and eight for my fellow-traveller, having more flesh upon his bones than me. At length by compounding we got off for ten carriers, in the arithmetical proportion laid down by the syndic. These carriers relieving each other alternately go at a great rate, and the *relais* furnishes talk to the passengers by the way; this talk generally turns on the cardinals, the generals, the princes and princesses whom they have had the honour of carrying, and the generosity of those eminencies and highnesses. One told me that his father had carried M. de Vendome, and that this M. de Vendome was the drollest fellow in the world. I asked them whether they had never heard of a captain of Algerines, one Hannibal, crossing mount Cenis with a great army, about two thousand years ago. They told me they had heard of such a one, and that the folks of mount St. Bernard said it was through their very country that he had passed; but marshal Villiers and the cardinal de Polignac had assured the people of Lasneburgh, that it was by the way of mount Cenis. This carrying continues for near four leagues; our servants performed the journey on mules, likewise hired at Lasneburgh according to the settled rate, with which, a little muttering excepted, they were very well satisfied.

Livy's description of the descent into Italy is perfectly just: *Pleraque Alpium ab Italiâ, sicut breviora, ita arctiora sunt: omnis fere via præceps, angusta, lubrica.* To give an idea of this precipice, it suffices to say, that the descent is not quite three leagues, and the ascent takes up full twenty-five. We were amazed at the rapidity of the Arche, along which the way lies in ascending; but compared to the little Doria, along which you go down, it only creeps. The fall of the latter is one continual cascade, distributed by flights of twenty, thirty, fifty feet perpendicular height, down which the water precipitates itself like surf, or very light froth, so that at some distance it looks like the transparent clouds sailing along in a fine summer's sky.

The road of this descent is a zigzag at very acute angles, contrived and laid out with admirable art, and on it our carriers trotted as fast as the best chairmen in the streets of Paris. They rested but two or three times, and in these intervals, they placed the two hand-barrows along side of each other, on the point of a rock, where, sitting on the ground, we talked of whatever remarkable had occurred to us. To shorten the way they would stride over the point of the angles, and there we and our carriages sometimes hung over a precipice two or three thousand perpendicular feet in depth. The very mules, when their riders are so venturesome, or not knowing how to guide them, trust to them for fear of worse, take the same bold pace. This descent is to travellers, like being driven into Italy by a storm.

From Novesef, the first place on even ground in going to Susa, the Swiss officers shewed us the back

back of Affiette-strait, famous for the attacks made on it in 1747, by the chevalier de Belleisle, who got himself and so many brave fellows knocked on the head there. M. Charmer, who was at the defence of that post, told us, that had that expedition succeeded, it would have laid open Piedmont and all the king of Sardinia's dominions to the French; that it would have succeeded had the attack, according to the chevalier Belleisle's plan, begun an hour sooner; that still it might have succeeded, had it been carried on half an hour longer; for when the French retreated, the Piedmontese troops had spent all their shot, and almost all their powder. *Adeo fortuna in omni re dominatur*, Sallust. So much is there of chance in every thing.

P I E D M O N T.

S u s A.

Susa, towards the Alps, is the key of Piedmont; it stands in the center of the opening into this plain. As it is commanded on the right and left, its fortifications, which might make a figure before the use of artillery, its walls and the square towers along them, are of no manner of account now, but for their antiquity. These towers, and some others of the same construction within this town, are something like the tower of St. Germain des Pres, that of St. Pierre de Châlons, and some other edifices of this kind, esteemed by antiquarians as valuable monuments of Gaulish architecture. The lower part is a mere

lump of stone masonry, without any openings or
 windows, till the height of thirty or forty feet:
 above are two or three stories, which may almost
 be seen through, and the openings decorated, or
 rather loaded with pillars, void of all proportion
 and determinate form, in the model, base and
 capital; the separation of the stories is marked
 on the outside, by a freeze of chequer-work. The
 pillars of these towers, and many others of the like
 construction, in several parts of Lombardy, are ge-
 nerally white marble, and the gaps of the openings,
 where they stand, are lined with the same marble.

Besides these Gaulish remains, Susa has a monu-
 ment of Roman antiquity, a triumphal arch,
 raised in the commencement of the Roman em-
 pire: it consists of large blocks of very beautiful
 Carrara marble, and well preserved. A de-
 scription of it is to be found in the Atlas
 of Piedmont. Marquis Maffei has also described
 it, but a Piedmontese engineer, disgusted at
 the little agreement of those descriptions with
 the monument itself, which he had closely exa-
 mined, has published a later with all its particu-
 lars and illustrations, which deserve the more
 to be taken notice of by architects, as the
 common rules have not been very scrupulously
 observed in that structure. The inscription on the freeze of this arch was
 in letters of gilt brass, but have been stolen: the
 vacancies in which these letters were inserted are
 still to be seen, and from their combination and
 respective position, the Piedmontese artist has re-
 stored the inscription. According to this restorer,
 the arch was erected by Cossius, king of a part
 of

of Piedmont and the Alps, though the inscription itself styles him only prefect. Suetonius, indeed, speaks of a king in these parts, whose country was reduced into a province by Nero.

About a mile from Susa, on a hillock, where the mountains begin to appear at some distance, the king of Sardinia has lately erected a citadel called fort Brunette: all the inventions of art, especially relating to mines and counter-mines, and these take in every point from whence the fort might be attacked or insulted, are said to be exhausted on this fortress. Nobody is allowed to go into it, or so much as to look at it; we happened to be casting an eye on a part of the out-works where men were at work; but we were soon, though with great civility, desired to withdraw.

A

TURIN.

This city takes up the center of a plain, overlooked by the Alps and the Appennine, and makes a very grand appearance; its gates, streets, churches, palaces, form vista's, nothing equal to which is to be seen in the cities of France.

Yet, on a particular view of each of these objects, the eye is offended at the strangeness of the architecture, these edifices being awkward masses, with parts which seem to hit against one another; and what at first attracts notice, is soon turned into disgust. One would conclude such a grotesque style to be the product of the Borromini school, were not the royal chapel at Turin, built before that architect flourished, a model in this kind. *Decipit exemplar vitis imitabile.* The church of the

Theatines

Theatines at Paris is in this taste, which the stucco artists, having given into it, are spreading all over Italy. It is a new kind of Gothic, become necessary to eyes tired with the beautiful simplicity of the antient monuments, and the edifices erected from those models (a). *La sazietà di ciò che lungamente si è adoprato, fa mutare il giudicio e spesso lo inganna, e fa appetere, ed appresso tentare cose nuove. Il desiderio della gloria stimola sempre gli intelletti più vivi à farsi inventori, e specialmente i giovani che confidando molto nelle forze loro e nelle loro immaginazioni, le cose antiche ricusano. i. e. "Satiety of what one has long been used to, biasing the judgment, often misleads it, makes it fond of novelties, and next prompts to attempt them. The most lively geniuses are apt, from a thirst of glory, to set up for inventors; and more especially youth, who, full of their abilities and imaginations, despise the works of former ages."* A reflection truly philosophical, founded on the experience of all ages, and applicable to more arts than one.

The king's palace at Turin is worthy of its sovereignty; it has a great number of apartments, which for taste, disposition, and magnificence of furniture, might have vied with those for which the

(a) Michael Angelo Buonarroti, in the dedication of his grandfather's poems to cardinal Barberini. Quintilian has the same thought: *Res et secundum naturam directæ nihil habere ex ingenio videntur: illa verò quæ utcumque deflecta sunt, miramur tanquam exquisitiora: non aliter quam distortis et quocunque modo prodigiis corporibus apud quosdam majus est pretium, quam iis quæ nihil ex communis habitas bonis perdidit.* R. 1. c. 5. *Reperio quod est optimum, qui querit aliud, pejor appetit.* l. 1. c. 15.

royal houses in France were so much admired before the building of Versailles. A cleanliness very rare in this sort of houses is observable in every part; it is what the king strictly obliges all his officers to; no nun's cell is kept with more neatness than his own chamber and apartment.

These apartments, with the galleries and passages, are full of paintings, marble, sculps, pier-glasses, and antique statues. These statues, with a very great number of antique busts, are part of the wreck of the museum of the Gonzagues, dukes of Mantua, brought to Turin on the pillage of that city.

A great part of the pictures are of the Flemish school, particularly Gerardow. A dying woman of his, is reckoned his master-piece both for design and colouring. The most remarkable among the paintings of other schools are, the elements by Albano, Guerchin's prodigal son, the rape of the Sabins by Bassan, &c. The king is particularly fond of a closet in looking-glass and enamel, done by the French school; and what heightens its elegance is a number of small pictures by Carlo Vanloo, representing the chief events in Tasso's Jerusalem, and scattered among the pannels.

One of the halls, in lieu of a table, has an Egyptian antique, and that an unic, the celebrated Isac table, of which so many copies have been taken and descriptions given by antiquarians. The plane is a bronze, embellished with silver wire, which in their various contours form a multitude of hieroglyphic compartments; for the sight of all these curiosities, we were obliged to the count de Grosso-Cavallo, a lord of the bed chamber.

The

The king and royal family never dine in public, it is only at chapel that they are seen together. All the family, as likewise the princefs of Savoy, have an air of chearfulness, health, harmony and content, which is not the portion of all families, not even the private. The duke of Savoy, being generous as a prince, and obliging as a private person, is so idolized, that the people fancy will sometimes give the king his father a fit of jealousy too strong to be quite concealed. His allowance, which is rather scanty, he lays out in relieving all the distresses that come to his knowledge; so that to enlarge his bounties he contracts debts. He applies close to business; but his delight and favourite study is the art of war; which, should the alliance between Austria and France be of any long continuance, is just so much time and labour lost.

The king himself settles the expence of his household; he takes cognizance of the minutest parts of government; nothing which has any relation to politics or the revenue is unknown to him. Whilst we were at Turin, a bale came to the custom-house, with the whole edition of a book printed at Lyons. It was a book of military prayers, dedicated to the Piedmontese troops, and printed from a like book dedicated to the French troops by the jesuits of Lyons, without the least difference, but the dedication. Before the bale was delivered, the king had a copy of this prayer book stiched for him; and having looked into it, he himself wrote an embargo on the bale, which left the jesuits without hopes of a replevy. Thus forming the most judicious place of study.

About

About the same time died at Turin the archbishop of Cagliari, who had been a jesuit nine years; and as in his last moments he had returned to the order again, the fathers buried him in their church and in the habit of a jesuit. As the corpse passed along, the Piedmontese said; *è propria come una fritata quando rivolgesi nella padella.* He is as clean as a pancake turned in the frying-pan.

Here it may be observed that Turin follows the old custom retained in Italy, but laid aside in most parts of France, of burying the dead with their faces uncovered; a custom which it is strange some things transacted during our stay at Paris have not revived. In reality of what weight can registers of burials be? What do they certify who sign them? It is little better than a blind man's witnessing to a matter of sight.

Turin has likewise a custom essential to the public safety, with regard to the minutes of notaries, which are all entered on stamp paper in a regular succession, without the least gap, and endorsed and signed by the magistrate of the place where the notary lives. This is observed all over Italy, and fully answers all forms and the end of a check: in other parts such precautions are never thought of, but when the treasury will be a gainer.

The university is in a flourishing condition, and besides its noble structure built by king Victor, and the several conveniences for its literary exercises, it has a very large library. The inner portico's of this building are full of basso relievo's and antique inscriptions fitted in the walls, and thus forming the most suitable tapestry which could be imagined for a place of study. This

dis-

disposition was a thought of marquis Maffei; most of these antiques are taken out of the ruins of Industria, a Roman colony, and now only a sorry village, at a league from Turin. These ruins are an inexhaustible mine.

Monuments of this kind, if left to the discretion of scholars in other countries, would not meet with that respect which time itself seems to have shewed them; but in Italy this respect is imbibed by education, and of very happy influence it is in disposing youth to admire fine performances. This respect is so deeply rooted here, that it extends to the very populace.

The apartment appointed for the library contains a rich and valuable collection of books, with a museum of antiques, Greek and Latin manuscripts of the middle age, and a series of old French romances; lastly, a contemporary collection of the acts of the council of Pisa. The bulk of these curiosities had a long time been in the house of Savoy, but all that remains at present in the palace, is a Lactantius of the earliest antiquity, and the Isiac table. The taste for magnificence of this kind, being brought into Savoy by Margaret daughter to Francis the first and spouse to duke Philibert Emanuel, was kept up by Christina

Henry the 4th's daughter. Among the most remarkable curiosities in this museum, is a little velum book, with a design of the famous Julio Romano on every page; this book, so valuable for the artist's name, as well as for the delicacy and purity of the designs, came to the dukes of Savoy, from the cabinet of the former dukes of Milan. All these curiosities are in the keeping of Abbé Barthes

or

or Bartholi, known by some works of erudition; and he does the honours with an assiduity, politeness and affability, which led us to think, but very falsely, that the emoluments of his place greatly exceeded those annexed to such functions in other countries.

This museum, and the library to which it is annexed, are open all days (holidays and Sundays excepted.) Whenever I went thither, I was greatly surpris'd at seeing the library always full of young ecclesiastics busied with the fathers and other works relating to their profession. We heard that the epocha for this taste of learning among them, was only from the last years of the reign of king Victor. This prince deprived the jesuits of the direction of the public studies, and their place has been supplied by the university.

A law-thesis at which I was present might have given me some insight into the state of jurisprudence here; but being the first Latin I had heard beyond the Alps, I could make little or nothing of it: I only thought that the defendant was tolerably master of his subject, and that from this he drew his answers to the objections: it was affirmed to me that these answers were not communicated, and the session was closed by distributing printed sonnets in honour of the defendant.

The employments of this university are filled up by seculars and religious of different orders. The Barnabites, who in Italy bear the name of regular clerks of the congregation of St. Paul, are in high repute; and their reputation receives a very respectable lustre from father Gerdil, so eminent for his works, most of which are philosophical.

sophic. When we were at Turin, he was talked of for preceptor to the prince of Piedmont, and the king has since obliged him to accept of that employment. I have met with but very few literati who talk of the objects of their studies with the perspicuity, accuracy, energy, and plainness of this father, and all in French, which he, with an innate humility, says, he knows no more than may be expected from a poor Savoyard.

We also paid a visit to father Beccaria, a genius of another kind; him we found amidst a variety of machines, and all of his own invention. The expence of these machines, most of which are for physical experiments, is defrayed by his majesty.

The diversions at Turin, both of the court and city, make no great noise. Though all the esteem and favours of the court center in the gentlemen of the army; the nobility in general are poor, and take care to shun great expences. The merchants complain that they are sacrificed to the military, and have no other way to keep house or provide for their families, but by dint of strict parsimony. Amidst this state of languor, something of gallantry still survives; but it is still that old fashioned gallantry which was introduced at Turin by Madame Royale.

Of this gallantry we happened to be in the way of seeing a specimen, in a young doctor of Bologna who had settled at Turin. He had wit at will, was a good poet, but amorous even to silliness, and the object of his passion was a young widow. In the early days of his felicity with her, that is, when after two or three months of
very

very assiduous and respectful courtship, she began to allow him to kiss her hand; he introduced to her a Frenchman, who, for some time before, had removed to Turin, and in whom he believed he had found as trusty a friend, as he fancied his goddess faithful. The Piedmontese beauty and the Frenchman soon came to an understanding, though bearing with the doctor for some time, till on occasion of a trifling quarrel the fair one dismissed him, charging him never more to set his foot within her house, nor even in the street, nor so much as to come within her sight. Whom should he chuse for comforter and counsellor, but this very friend, imagining him to be wholly taken up with his reconciliation? Soon after we became confidants to both the rivals, and the doctor daily urging his friend to hasten a peace, every visit brought a copy of verses on his distressful situation, and often very prettily turned. The Frenchman promised, gave hopes, perceived glimpses, dreaded obstacles, took on himself to deliver the verses, and concluded with exhorting the doctor to efface, by patience, all the offences to which his disgrace had been owing. The poor doctor, in the mean time, lost his appetite, sleep fled from him, he neglected all manner of business, and his brain was crouded with melancholy ideas, which he poured forth in verses.

One day I asked him whether his charmer deserved all he went through on her account; his answer was, that I should go and take a walk with him. On coming to a cross-way, now, says he, observe at the window of the first story, in

the eighth or ninth house in the street we were entering into, and there you will see the object of my torture and your curiosity. We came to the end of the street; I, without telling the houses, because I imagined that on perceiving what he wanted to shew me, he would at least give me notice of it by some sign; and he like a cat which had trod on live coals, or like a poor convict going to the place of execution. When we were got out of sight of the fatal house, he stopped, and eagerly throwing his arms about my neck, congratulated me on the happiness of having enjoyed a fight, which had been prohibited him these two months. I vowed to him that I had seen nothing, expecting that he would have given me notice where I was to look, and proposed to him to walk back; this he rejected with kind a of horror, saying, that for the five fingers of his hand, which he held out, he would not do such a thing, as it would ruin him beyond all recovery. This intrigue was still going on when we left Turin; the conclusion, I suppose, will be, that the Frenchman growing tired of the Piedmontese lady, she will make up matters with the doctor; who, all the while, had never taken it into his head to be jealous.

Such, in general, is the gallantry of Italy. They are at great pains to bring on themselves the frenzies, the evils, and all the miseries of love; but are utterly unacquainted with its sweets in united hearts and harmonizing tempers. This, to be sure, must arise from the climate. Love, desires, and every passion, are infinitely stronger there, than in France and in the North; that
sprightliness,

sprightliness, which is the present characteristic of French gallantry, is not so much a token as the equivalent, or supplement to love. Those long winded amours sung by the romancers of old times, doubtless arose from desires more fixed and violent than the present.

Gallantry is still at Turin, nearly as Hamilton has described it in the memoirs of the count de Grammont: a seductive work, which setting falsity in an amiable light, making perfidy a virtue, and opening the secrets of the court to the people, has given such a wound to the public manners of France, as daily grows deeper and wider. Every low-lived blockhead of a *petit-maitre*, sets up for a count de Grammont. From Senantes, so cruelly exposed in those memoirs, is descended the count de Carail, one of the principal and richest noblemen of the court of Turin. He is now building a palace, with a large and well chosen library for public use.

Piedmont will preserve the memory of king Victor, as France preserves that of Lewis XIV. Turin every where displaying that prince's magnificence. Near half this city he has rebuilt on an uniform plan: the better part of the fortifications, the gates, the hospital, the university, the country college, several royal seats in the neighbourhood of Turin, are works of his reign: lastly, for his burial place he has erected a very splendid church, where a numerous community of secular priests officiate. This church and the dwellings of the priests form a separate pile of buildings, after the manner of the invalids: they stand on the top of a high mountain east of Turin, and in

purfuance of a vow made by king Victor, when Turin was befieged by the duke of Orleans, to a little madonna worshipped on that eminence; which on this occasion as little favoured the French, as the princess to whom the commonalty in France impute the raising of the siege. King Victor, by this structure, was for vying in grandeur with the king of France; but if the Superga be compared with the buildings in which Lewis XIV. meant only to gratify his taste for magnificence, it is an effort against nature; and if brought into competition with the Invalids, it is a mere piece of vanity, of no manner of use. In the church of the Augustines, at Turin, is a marble bust, and the following epitaph of cardinal Tournon.

D. O. M.

CAROLO THOMÆ MAILLARD, CARD. de TOURNON, PATRIARC. ANTIOCH. LEGAT. APOSTOL. & apud Cinas amplificandæ fidei assertori fortissimo, qui adusquæ Orientis extrema, longâ, ac difficili navigatione transvectus, quum ibi pro religione & eliminandis erroribus viriliter decertaret, à Clem. XI. cujus jussu arduam sane provinciam susceperat, ad Rom. Ecclesiæ purpuram assumptus, diuturni carceris angustias, laudabili ac gloriosâ morte, nusquam famæ moriturus evasit, Macai, 8 Jun. Ann. 1711.

Felix Emmanuel Marchio de Tournon, frater, hoc amoris & doloris monumentum posuit, anno 1712.

Underneath is part of the Latin oration delivered in a consistory, by Clement XI. on the said cardinal's decease.

The

The Turinese are looked upon by the Italians as the Gascoons of Italy; and indeed they come as near to the latter, as they differ from the former in capacity and industry; as to knavery, craft, suppleness, and the main part of their disposition, they are downright Italians. Even at Turin the gaiety is nothing like that of France; it has a melancholy sly and selfish cast; it is the gaiety of a cat, a gaiety all within one's self, and never entertaining to others. It feeds on lonely walks, buffoons, and mountebanks. Of all things, real folly, or what it takes to be such, is its most delicious morsel, especially old stories or tales; and these it has a talent of spinning out as long as it pleases. To be well acquainted with this odd kind of gaiety, one must fall in with it; and this is never better done than by assuming the most silly and credulous air and behaviour. With this masquerade, I have very often made my sport at Italians, who at the same time were fully persuaded that they made me the fool of the company (a).

The substance of the commerce of Turin is raw silk: the few stuffs made there are rather showey

(a) Piedmont is governed, 1. by statutes or local customs: 2. by the written law, in cases not determined by the statutes: 3. by royal ordinances. King Victor issued several ordinances for shortening and lessening law-suits, by settling the form of proceedings, and fixing the law in the more usual cases: the most celebrated on this head came out in the year 1729. By an article of this ordinance, commoners and newly created nobles are not allowed feoffments of trust and entails; a very weighty article, and which for good reasons deserves to be adopted by more than one great state. What indeed is the community the better for preserving estates, when there is often more justice, order and good example in the dividing of them?

than strong; and in Italy, which affords a tolerable vent for them, they are chiefly made use of in furniture. But the Turin stockings are preferable to those of Paris and Languedoc. A demand begins to be made for these stockings in France. This manufacture was formed here the last war, out of the ruins of that of Genoa.

The inhabitants of Lyons, in return for part of the raw silks, which they receive from Turin, send thither some of their stuffs. As to linen and drapery, this trade has been broke off between Turin and France fifteen years ago. Till then, this city used to have several warehouses of French linens, which were disposed of at Alexandria fair, but now the Swiss have intirely got that trade into their hands: what with the cheapness of the Swiss linens, and the gloss of those of Silesia, the goodness of the French linen, to the great regret of œconomists, is quite forgotten. As to the cloth trade, the English have had the chief share of it this long time. Can this be owing to the hatred and antipathy, which Addison says he observed in the Piedmontese towards France? Either Addison saw things with the prejudices of an Englishman; or the Piedmontese are extremely softened; with relation to all these very important objects, seeing Turin is seeing all Italy.

VERCELLI, NOVARA, PAVIA and LODI.

I shall not dwell much on these places, which are all in Lombardy. We were detained at Vercelli by a sudden overflowing of the Sessia: it being on a Sunday, in the month of July, we were entertained with a sight of a Corpus Christi procession. This festival had been passed for some time, but
the

the parishes of this town have an agreement that, every one, according to its rank, walks in procession by turns, on some Sundays following Corpus Christi day. It is indeed a general procession; for all the parishes join that which is on duty. Should such an agreement take place at Paris, every Sunday, for no small part of the year, there would be general Corpus Christi processions. That of Novara drew abroad the townsmen's daughters, who are not usually seen in the streets. These girls have a great share of beauty, and are all of a brown complexion, from the deep auburn to a lighter cast: the sparkle of their eyes and clearness of their skin were heightened by their heads being dressed in the Grecian manner, that is in their hair. This coiffure, of which nature furnishes almost the whole, is more becoming and graceful than all the art of the Paris milleners. In the Roman times, the territory of Vercelli had golden mines in work, which certainly must have been in the neighbouring part of the Alps*.

I was very much perplexed at what I saw in Novara, and have scarce met with in other places of the Milanese. The charnels of this country for preserving the bones of the dead, are a kind of chapples, where these bones are laid in great order in drawers, which being lined with gilt and marble paper, have something of the appearance of pretty cabinets of natural curiosities. To these drawers were suspended at equal distances, and in the same orderly taste, stiletto's, poniards, daggers, long knives, all more or less rusty. The mystery of all this I found to be, that two ene-

* Plin. Hist. l. xxx. c. 4.

mies being brought to a reconciliation, used to come in the evening before these chapples, where they embraced one another, and as a token of their intimate reconciliation, threw into the charnel the stiletto's or knives intended for their revenge: the minister of the church finding these weapons on the ground, took them up and hanged them to the drawers of the charnel, by way of good example. * I was also told, and have since been in a way of verifying it, that the Italians lay a very great stress on prayer to the souls in purgatory, whilst in France they are prayed for: so that in Italy the feast of all souls is not so much a day of prayers for the dead as for the living. Whenever these souls are talked of, it is by the name of *santissime anime purganti*; and beggars ask alms more frequently for the sake *delle animi purganti*, than for God's; hence the respect and veneration for the bones of the deceased indiscriminately.

In these towns, as over all the Milaneze, the custom-house is not so much a searching place, as an imposition on travellers: at coming into it, you are not bid to open your baggage, but the word is *la buona mancia per il signor official della dogana*, i. e. your gratuity to the worthy officer of the customs: the same demand is made in going out, and the solicitations of the door-keepers, which from cringing grow threatening, do not cease till experienced travellers go on without minding them. In the Pope's dominions, at the gate of every town, a printed certificate is put into your hand with GRATIS at the bottom; yet you must pay for it. At Venice and Naples no money

* See the art. of Milan.

is demanded; but so many things are declared contraband, and the search is so strict and tedious, that even they who have nothing prohibited belonging to them, bless the countries where a little money saves one such troublesome searches.

The Lodofan, perhaps the most fruitful spot in all Europe, is, together with the Pavofan, become contiguous to the cessions made to the king of Sardinia by the late treaties; and so hurtful is this neighbourhood, that it could wish likewise to come under the dominion of Savoy. This power has saddled its frontier with such duties, imposts and tolls on all things imported and exported, that the Lodofans and Pavofans in some measure buy the corn, the hay, the mulberry leaves, and the several products of their own grounds; an oppression by which they are usually reduced to dispose of them, at a very low rate, to the king of Sardinia's subjects. Pavia is in the more critical condition; the territories of the king of Sardinia reaching to its very gates, (a) so that the inhabitants are paying the duties demanded by that prince, to buy the very fruits of their gardens.

Since these measures, which shew the advantage resulting in treaties from a thorough knowledge of places, Pavia and Lodi are thinned by one half, and in all appearance this exuberant country will want hands to cultivate it.

Another detriment to Lombardy is the alliance between France and Austria, stopping up those copious sources, which, on every war, that is about every twenty years, poured into it such large sums from France, Spain and Germany: this the

(a) *Vomere portam Ticini perstrinxit. Cic. Phil. 2.*

Lombards feel to the quick, and their concern on this head has much more sense and reason in it, than the lamentations of the Italian poets and wits, on the distressful condition of their country, once the queen of the universe, but now the field of battle, and prey of nations, who were its slaves. These lamentations are no where so strongly expressed as in a sonnet of Filicaia's, which all the Italians have by heart. The Abbe Regnier Desmarais has attempted a latin translation of it, and being perhaps a master-piece of this kind of poetry, so common in Italy, it may not improperly be inserted here.

*Italia, Italia, o tu cui feò la sorte
 Dono infelice di Bellezza, ond'hai
 Funesta dote d'infiniti guai,
 Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte.
 Deb! fossi tu men bella, o almen più forte,
 Onde assai più ti paventasse, ò assai
 T' amasse men chi del tuo bello a i rai
 Par che si strugga, e pur ti sfida a morte!
 Ch' or giù dall' Alpi io non vedrei torrenti
 Scender d'armati, nè del tuo sangue tinta
 Bever l'onda del Pò Gallici armenti.
 Nè te vedrei del non tuo ferro cinta
 Pagnar col braccio di straniero genti,
 Per servir sempre, o vincitrice o vinta.*

Translation by the Abbé Regnier Desmarais.

*Italia, infausto cæli quæ munere pulchra,
 Huic referenda vides uni infortunia doti:
 Quæ te cumque premunt à fronte inscripta leguntur.
 O utinam, vel pulchra minus vel fortior esses,*

Ut

*Ut vel amare minus, vel te magis ille timere
 Disceret, exitium qui victus amore minatur !
 Non ego nunc ruere Alpinis effusa viderem
 Castra jugis, non Eridanum nunc sanguine fœdum
 Strage recens biberet Gallus ; nec milite cincta
 Non proprio, externâ tentares prælia dextrâ,
 Ut victrix, seu victa, jugo des colla superbo.*

Among the poems of that author, are four other sonnets and a canzone on the same subject, with the same depth of sentiment, nobleness of ideas, and energy of stile. The Italians are divided between the above sonnet, and that which follows it in the Filicaia collection. I shall add it to the former, both as a rival piece, and an ingenuous declaration of what the Italians think of the French and Germans, and of their wars in Italy.

*Dov'è, Italia, il tuo braccio, e a che ti servi
 Tu dell' altrui ? Non è, s'io scorgo il vero,
 Di chi t'offende il difensor men fero :
 Ambo nemici sono, ambo fur servi.
 Così dunque l'onor, così conservi
 Gli Avanzi tu del glorioso Impero !
 Così al valor, al valor primiero
 Che a te la fede giurò, la fede offervi !
 Or va : ripudia il valor prisco, e sposa
 L'Ozio ; e fra sangue, i gemiti e le strida,
 Nel periglio maggior dormi e riposa,
 Dormi, adultera vil, fin che omicida
 Spada ultrice ti svegli ; e sonnambiosa
 E nuda in braccio al tuo Fedel t'uccida.*

The celebrated Laurence de Medicis, the most consummate politician among all the late princes
 of

of Italy, and perhaps Europe, formed a scheme for keeping the ultramontane nations out of Italy, which having in its own bosom the most important manufactures of Europe, did not depend for its subsistence on the money brought into it by the armies of these nations. This project he executed, and what with the ballance of power which he settled between the Italian states, and the personal regard paid to him in the councils of all foreign courts, he maintained that salutary scheme till his death. *Morto Lorenzo, cominciarono à nascere quei cattivi semi, i quali non dopò molto tempo (non sendo già vivo, chi sapesse spegnerli) rovinarono, ed anchora rovinano la Italia.* "On the decease of Laurence began to spring up these noxious seeds, which in the want of persons capable of stifling them, ruined Italy and still continue to ruin it."

With this observation, and it is founded on facts of which he had been witness, Machiavel concludes his history of Florence.

At Lodi we saw the house, chamber, and bed, where Francis the first is said to have contracted with a baker's wife, that distemper which laid him in his grave. The house is at the corner of the square facing the cathedral, and is still tenanted by a baker.

In the first town, along the road in Lombardy, you find an universal disposition for music; every body there plays on the violin with catches and trills, and other graces of that instrument: the very service in the village churches has the air of a concert, every one singing his part according to the pitch of his voice, and accompanied by the organ. As one advances into Italy, this disposition

sition is found to grow stronger, so that with regard to this taste, and the perfection which proportionally follows it, Italy may be compared to a diapason and Naples the octave. The passion of the Italians for harmony is doubtless an effect of their constitution, and its predominant melancholy. To them music is a constitutional want, and a necessary remedy: it stirs them, and operates on them in reality all the effects attributed to it, in regard to those who have been stung by a tarantula: a disorder, which, in itself may be only a violent fit of hypochondriacal melancholy. The talent of the Italians for poetry and the fine arts, their steadiness, which is not the portion of all nations, their obstinate perseverance in the objects both of their studies and diversions, all spring from the same principle, which, as the several objects shall present themselves on our road, we shall have occasion to elucidate.

M I L A N.

Vercelli, Novara, Lodi, and Milan, have one common origin, which all authors agree in attributing to those Gauls, who were transplanted into Lombardy, at the famous expedition of Segovese and Bellovese. The common opinion on the etymology of the name of Milan, Mediolanum, has all the uncertainty of this kind of conjectures. It is generally derived from a sow with a woolly skin, the original arms of Milan, as at present it bears an adder: this opinion however is no novelty; for Claudian speaking of Milan says,

Menia Gallis

Condita lanigera suis ostentantia pellem.

The

The archbishop of Milan was a long time metropolitan of all Lombardy; the people elected him, and he received his confirmation from the emperors; till under Henry II the popes, by the management of the famous Peter Damian, got this confirmation into their hands, and in the 13th century dismembered Genoa and Bobbio from the metropolitan see of Milan, in order to erect Genoa into an archbishoprick.

A superficial retrospect on the disasters of this large city, successively pillaged, sacked, and destroyed by the Goths, by the Huns, by the Lombards, by the successors of Charlemain, by the emperors of the house of Swabia, often ruined by its intestine commotions, its ambitious enterprises, and unfortunate expeditions, will incline one to account the present inhabitants happy in the tranquility they enjoy, and their own pacific temper.

On a comparison of their present condition, arises a problem: Never was Milan better peopled, richer, and more flourishing than in its most disastrous times. The case was the same all over Italy, in the midst of the fiercest flames of the wars between the Guelphs and Gibelins. And if we look beyond Italy, Greece swarmed with men in those shining ages, when all its tribes, all its cities were in arms, and signalized every year by victories and advantages over their neighbours. And to come nearer to our own times, France has never recovered that population to which it had attained in the midst of those furious civil wars, with which it was rent under the children of Henry II. Now, could the succeeding peace and

tran-

tranquility be detrimental to population? By what reason, moral, or physical, is it promoted by dissensions, by wars between town and town, and even between fellow-citizens? Can we, with any analogy, apply to this problem, the causes to which the president Henault attributes the crowd of great men of all kinds, produced by those tempestuous times, which are pleasing only in story.

“In those critical times,” says that elegant and profound historian, “the continual recurrence of “happy and unhappy events strengthens the mind “increases its vigour, inspires a courage ready for “any achievements, and impresses it with that “desire of glory which is ever productive of great “things.”

The visconti's, the empire's vicars in the Milanese, assumed the sovereignty of it towards the close of the 13th century; that is, at the time when the kings of France were leaving no stone unturned to reunite the scattered parts of their kingdom; which, for two hundred years, had remained dismembered by such usurpations.

The example of the Viscontis proved contagious. All the cities in Italy set up for independent republics, but were ever jarring at home, and perpetually embroiled in war abroad; united or divided among one another by political alliances or enmities, conquering alternately or conquered, and, amidst a continual ebb and flow, passing from liberty to subjection, and from subjection to liberty.

In these tumultuous democracies, force or craft, placed at the head of the state, either powerful citizens or fortunate soldiers; who, being ever grappling

grappling with competitors, all sure of a party, had with different success laboured to perpetuate the principality in their family. The people were a main instrument in those revolutions; but the greatest dangers, both foreign and domestic, hung over their chiefs, whom they could hood-wink, even when the authority of the latter bore the most favourable appearances. And this proves how very far, even among the common people, the Italian heads are better turned for politics than those of France, and our northern climates. All the people of the latter countries became slaves to those usurpers, who dismembered Charlemain's empire. They never had a thought, like the Italians, of asserting and supporting a liberty, which their new masters were not able to wrest from them by the sword.

It is of no weight to say, that at the time of that revolution, all those people were already in a state of villanage. This objection might be an argument in our favour, since if we recur up to Charlemain, we shall find that the condition of the people of France, and Germany, was the same as that of the people of Lombardy; and since that emperor's time, the feudal law and government, were equally become the establishment in the several countries which he had brought under his dominion. During the declension of the Carlovingian race, wise councils, consistent measures and bold actions secured the liberty of the Transalpine people; whilst those of France and Germany were running into slavery, from whence, however, royalty, as it gathered strength, has wrought their deliverance. This state of anarchy, a convulsive, but happy state for every nation who

who has its liberty at heart, lasted till the migration of the French into Lombardy, who soon drew thither the other foreign powers. The earth stood silent before them.

The Italian genius being as it were electrified by the continual shock of incessant revolutions, turned itself towards literature and the arts, and cultivated them with a vivific heat, which on a sudden produced immortal masterpieces in all kinds.

Milan had laid the first foundations of its liberty so early as the end of the 10th century, by contentions, and afterwards by petty wars with its bishops, whom the German emperors had made the depositaries of their authority. In the following century, Adalbert king of Italy consented not to go within the walls of Milan, from the chimerical reason, that, since St. Ambrose had driven Theodosius out of the city, no emperor had presumed to enter it. The 12th century affords an abuse of that great example still more strongly marked. Giordano, archbishop of Milan, shut against the very people those doors, within which St. Ambrose had denied admittance to Theodosius: this he did with a view to bring the people to chastise, by fire and sword, the inhabitants of Parma, with whom he was offended. This bold step succeeded, and Parma was sacked with terrible slaughter (a).

Milan stands in the center of an oblong square, inclosed northwards by the Grison mountains; east and westward by the Adda and the Tessin,

(a) Muratori dissertazion.

which come from those mountains, and southward by the Po, into which they run. Perhaps, in the whole universe, there is not another city built in the middle of a plain, without river or stream for its defence or convenience. So very singular a situation, I am apt to think, must have been owing to this, that the inhabitants of this plain being driven from their dwellings, by an enemy who was master both of the mountains and of the three rivers bordering on the plain, met about its center, where they threw up a kind of fortification for their defence, and this intercourse brought them to prefer a social life to the solitude of their lonely habitations.

Art and industry, however, have in time procured to Milan those advantages, of which its founders could not entertain a thought. Two navigable canals, one from the Adda, the other from the Tessin, join it to those rivers, and afford it all the advantages which can accrue to a great city from a river, without feeling any of the inconveniencies. Some Milaneze gentlemen have assured me, that those canals were the work of the French, under Lewis XII. and Francis I. Now this seems the more strange, it not being till very long after, that the French ever thought of such undertakings for themselves in their own country: they, probably, contrived the Marthesana and the Thesinina, as M. Guillaume contrived the colours of his cloths; that is, jointly along with his dyer. At least, it is certain, that the plan and execution of the Adda canal, or the Marthesana, are owing to the celebrated Leonardo da

de Vinci, who knew something beyond sketching and blending colours. An enterprize of this nature, executed under the auspices of France, and in a conquered country, is a standing proof; 1st. That the French were not always such destroyers as the Italians conceive; 2dly. That France, with some Leonardos de Vinci, would not have been so late in forming great schemes for itself.

Next to its situation the most wonderful curiosity in Milan, is its dome or cathedral, very near as large as St. Peter's at Rome. It is mentioned by all travellers, who say, and a long time will it be said, that though it has been near four hundred years a building, it is not yet finished. Martial's epigram seems made for this edifice.

*Eutrapelus tonsor dum circuit ora Luperi,
Expungitque genas, altera barba subit.*

Several parts are in a ruinous condition, whilst others are only in hand. Till the portal shall be thought on, the principal works carried on are immense; such as open pyramids far surmounting every buttress; images, of which, within and without, this church has already some thousands; with little genii and decorations in passages by which all the upper parts communicate: these decorations are as highly finished as the most curious pieces of gold smiths work, and which it is matter of no small surprise to find in such a place. On being farther told that every part of this edifice is of the finest Carrara marble, the wonder ceases that more has been expended on it, though far from being finished, than brought St. Peter's at Rome to its present splendor. In a word, this building, to

which ancient and modern, profane and ecclesiastical history does not afford a parallel, is like a giant with a suit of cloaths all over laced with the most brilliant gold orris, and his fingers covered with diamond rings and the finest gems, but without a pair of breeches or shoes; and thus will it remain till some sovereign shall take into his own hands the funds left for this work, and cause it to be speedily finished. And this, it seems, count Christiani had very seriously thought of a little before his death.

Milan, with the pope, might rival Rome for the title of holy, which the latter assumes. There is no end of its churches, monasteries, seminaries, penitential chapels, colleges, brotherhoods, schools of all sorts and all colours. Here is annually sold a devotional almanack, merely for shewing the daily stations, benedictions of the host, octaves and indulgencies within Milan; half of it, at least, being taken up with buildings, or houses appertaining to religion. The Ambrosian monks, though already possessed of a vast house built by Bramante, have within this century built another, fully equal to the former in largeness and magnificence, and of which scarce one third part is made use of; and, under the pretence that the latter does not stand in a good air, they are about a third, which will eclipse the two others. The Jesuits have five houses (a) in a gradation of sumptuous-

(a) Their immense and superb college of La Brera, was the very house of those Umiliati, who disliking S. Charles assassinated him. *Of all the world you was the man, who ought to have buried the great Corneille,* said a gentleman to Racine, by way of consolation, that the lot had

sumptuousness. The other religious orders display the same luxury, in proportion to their riches, esteem, and dexterity; so that were the number and magnificence of churches sure signs of the opulence of a city, Milan would not only be one of the largest, but likewise one of the richest cities in Europe.

It is a pity that the Benedictins of St. Maur and St. Vanne, who for fourscore years past have incumbered France with masses of stone, from which posterity can entertain but a very indifferent idea of the delicacy and airiness of the French taste in the 18th century; I say, it is a pity that these monks so fond of building did not come to Milan for some plans, which would have prevented the awkward heaviness so disgusting in all their structures. St. Charles would have furnished them with models which they might have followed, without wronging either their taste or their love of regularity. All the beauty and grandeur of architecture shine forth in the distributions, back-stairs, conveniencies, and the several particulars requisite in religious houses. Mela and Pelegrini, that great prelate's architects, worked for him, as if working for the most discerning and most difficult of men: yet according to the Milaneze tradition, he never saw the structures he was raising. Absorbed in the objects of their destination, when he did shew himself in the workshops, it was only to encourage the workmen by his presence and

had fallen on another academician, to be the orator at the celebration of the obsequies of P. Corneille by the French academy. *N. N. de la R. P. des Lettres. 1686.*

gratuities; he is said never to have raised an eye to look on the work.

Milan owes its principal embellishments to this prelate's foundations, and those of his nephew cardinal Frederic Borromeo. The city abounds with monuments of their solid piety, their tender compassion for the sufferings of human nature, and their love of literature and the arts. In all these respects it may be said, *Borromeorum omnia plena*. It does little honour to the successors of those respectable prelates, that the first court of the great seminary, and the Helvetic college, lie yet unfinished.

The taste for public edifices, which, among the Romans, was termed *Publica Magnificentia*, and the contrary to which was *privata luxuries*, shews itself at Milan, even among the common class. A merchant of the name of Cottoni, has, at his own expence, built the court of the great hospital with a royal magnificence. A cross way near the Pozzo inn where we quartered, had been cramped by a house projecting on it, and which at the same time hiding three streets, occasioned much mischief to be done thereabout, so that it had been nicknamed *Mal-cantone*, the bad corner. This house another merchant, called *Maranzani*, who had a family, purchased, to have it pulled down for the public safety and conveniency. From the same generous principle he has rebuilt the *Ponte de Fabri*, yet his house was not in the neighbourhood, either of the *Mal-cantone*, or of the *Ponte de Fabri*.

Annone, another of the same class, has lately built at his own expence the *Nuovi Sepolchri*, the singular plan of which stands justified by the
great

great effect of the proportions. It is a public burial-ground a little without Milan; the form is oval, and in the middle is a very pretty chapel intirely insulated; along the inside of the wall which incloses the oval, runs a wide covered portico, terminated by a balustrade. Under this portico is a train of large vaults which are filling successively, as they are emptied. To every intercolumniation answers a window in the wall, and all with prospects, the sightly variety of which must divert the thoughts of death, which many resort hither purely to indulge. The worship paid by the Italians to the souls in purgatory, has made this burial place a place of devotion extremely frequented. This sepulchre, or rather this rich mausoleum, is not unlike the theatres of antiquity, by what remains we have of them; and when the injuries of time shall have reduced it to the same condition, this resemblance will probably lead many an antiquarian into a mistake. In the mean time, on a revolution, it might serve for a citadel, which has often been the case of ancient theatres, and hastened their destruction. A set of resolute men throwing themselves into it, with provisions and ammunition, might maintain their ground, and give the opposite party no small trouble: which perhaps did not occur when this situation was appointed for the edifice. I forgot mentioning that both Annone, its founder, and Cottoni, who built the court of the great hospital, had no children.

All the books of travels to Italy are very particular concerning the Ambrosian library and its collection of paintings and statues. Before I was admitted

into this collection, the keeper roundly asked me, how much I thought of giving him; *per la buona Manzia*, viz. as a gratuity (a). To divert myself with his selfish frankness, I haggled for some time, till at length, we agreed; but he would have the money beforehand, and he had it.

As God has denied me the talent which he has bestowed on all Parisians, whom I have seen hold forth on the merit and faults of paintings, without any other reason for their decisions, than some illumination from above: I am, in this respect, like all the ignorant, who are more taken with the expression in master-pieces of painting and sculpture, than all the other circumstances. Thus I was particularly affected with a painting, where a virgin almost as big as life is kneeling, viewing her son just born: pain, joy, compassion, tenderness, respect and veneration are blended in the attitude, and figure of the virgin, to whom the painter has chosen to give a physiognomy somewhat discomposed; yet on which all those emotions are displayed prefer-

(a) In Lombardy it is pronounced *Manza*; and is commonly derived from *buona mano*, which is merely synonymous to it; Muratori brings it from *Amanza*, good-will, gallantry. A very old Italian poet, Frà Jacopone di Todi, has used it in that sense.

*Non è verace acquisto,
Di Manza che non dura:
Ma chi ben ama Christo
Sopra d'ogn' altra cura,
Quella è Amanza sicura.*

And afterwards,

*Di te, bella Manza,
Jesu venga Manza.*

ably

ably to composed graces or dignity, as not suited to so great a variety of expressions. The artist died young, and I am told he has left but few performances; I believe it is Schidone: here are also some paintings of Titian de Vinci, de Brugel and Procacino; it is indeed a very noble collection; but I was ever returning to my virgin, and amidst all these treasures, I saw nothing so striking. A holy family of Raphael, which I since saw in the Sacristy of St. Celsus, taught me that beauty and majesty are not incompatible with expression; but then, *quando ullum artes invenient parem?* I dont know in what part of Leonardo de Vinci's last supper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, Addison found six fingers on the hand of a principal figure; it was more than I could find with all my looking. This to be sure is a beautiful picture, but of a masculine, bold, and grave beauty, which one can scarce become accustomed to in France.

In a nunnery near St. Celsus, a very fine structure, where only daughters of the first families in Milan are admitted to take the veil, I went to see the church when it happened to be shut. On this I made my way to the parlour, and begged the favour that my curiosity might be gratified. The lady who officiated as porter, very obligingly delivered me the keys, at the same time giving me to understand, that by my appearance and manner of speaking Italian, she took me for a Frenchman. After a leisurely survey of all the beauties in the church, I returned the keys at the parlour, where I was suddenly surrounded with a crowd of nuns, all eagerly speaking

speaking at once, asking that I would satisfy them about the news come to Milan, by the last post from Rome. This news was that cardinal Cavalchini, when, on the very point of being chosen pope, had been excluded by France. Do but see, exclaimed all these good ladies, filled with a holy rage, a fine thing indeed! for the king of France to hinder the operation of the Holy Ghost! When this storm of tongues had somewhat subsided, that I could be heard, I offered to demonstrate to this tumultuous groupe, that the king of France, so far from thwarting that operation, seconded it. This little agreeing with the impressions which their directors had left on them, they desired me to prove it, which I did by this argument. It is laid down from all eternity, that such a cardinal shall succeed Benedict XIV. in St. Peter's chair. If this cardinal be not Cavalchini, which we shall soon know, the intentions of the sacred college for Cavalchini, are an obstacle to the election of him who is appointed in the divine decrees, and consequently to the operation of the Holy Ghost, who will conduct the election, according to that appointment: so ladies, France, in excluding Cavalchini, removes that obstacle and seconds the Holy Ghost's operation. But, cried they, should Cavalchini be the Holy Ghost's cardinal? why then, ladies, replied I, you may be as easy as myself: Cavalchini will certainly be pope, the Holy Ghost will come to compromise with France about his election. By this time the refreshments were brought in, and really the ladies had more need of them than I; however, we parted good friends,

friends, they, full of the Holy Ghost's operation being hindered by France, and determined to have my reasoning cleared up to them. And, for my part, I gave myself no farther concern about it.

I was presented to the celebrated countess, Clelia Boromeo, by count Visconti, an amiable and learned young nobleman, to whom father Girdel had recommended me. Here I saw the countess of Archinta, sister-in-law to the cardinal of that name, whom France, at that time, had in its eye for Pope, and who since met with his death in the very cause by which he had missed of the popedom. I saw, at times, all the quality of Milan, the countess of Boromeo's being their rendezvous. This lady, besides all the virtues of her family, has acquired a knowledge above her sex; she has carried her scientific acquisitions to the most sublime parts of geometry. Her conversation was the more entertaining and wonderful to me, as I had spent the last three years in France. The palace she lives in is the patrimonial mansion of the Boromeos, and its stateliness answers to the name. She had given up a ground-floor apartment to the young people of her neighbourhood, and fitted it up for a theatre, where they had formed themselves into a company of actors. One of the plays, at which I was present, highly entertained me, and confirmed what I had heard of the comic talents, being, as it were, innate to the Italians. The lady of the house was never seen at these entertainments, as persons of character, in Italy, very seldom are.

Countess Boromeo

Count Clerici's palace makes a very distinguished figure, both by the disposition of the apartments and the richness and taste of the furniture. One circumstance which pleased me much was, the owner having in his bed-chamber, instead of hangings, the pictures of all the officers of the regiment of which he is colonel in the service of the empress queen.

The palace of count Pertusati, a field marshal in the same service, is noticed for another kind of merit; a library which may figure with the Ambrosian, of his own forming and very elegantly placed.

Count Trivulcio, an ecclesiastic, has made a very considerable collection of seals and dyptics; this last species of antiques has been brought into vogue in Italy, by cardinal Querini, and is in the highest esteem. Abbé Bartholi, keeper to the royal library at Turin, had made me a present of a dissertation written by himself on a monument of this kind, in support of its antiquity against marquis Maffei. It consists of eighty quarto pages very closely printed, and at the end is a beautiful cut of the monument on which the dissertation was written; and what heightens the curiosity, is this same dyptic having been no more than a porto-folio for love letters.

Signora Agnese, so famous in the literary world for her acquaintance with the learned languages, and a very profound treatise on analysis, in consideration of which, besides panegyrics from all learned bodies, a professorship of mathematics has been conferred on her, in the university of Bologna, is daughter to a creditable tradesman of

Milan;

Milan. But neither her studies, her labours, her successes, nor the instances of her father have been able to get the better of the call which she felt in herself to be a blue-coat-nun, and this order is one of the most austere. Since the death of her father, she has given into the most mystic devotion, and has made a sacrifice to christian humility of all the enjoyments and honours, which her acquaintance and her talents offered her in the world.

I was present at an university thesis on physics, held in the splendid church of the Barnabites. The respondent, a young Milaneze nobleman, encountered the whole assembly for the space of three hours, without president or prompter. A very spirited debate arose on the origin of springs, which the respondent attributed to rains. One of the arguments produced against this hypothesis, I remember was taken from this passage in Genesis: *It had not yet rained on the earth, and the fountains of the deep were broken up.*

The taste for solid studies makes great progress in Italy. At every hour of the day, I have found the public and private libraries full of persons reading and making extracts. Many and very successfully cultivate the more abstruse sciences. The first fruit of their studies, and of their acquaintance with the master-pieces with which literature has been enriched by the age of Lewis XIV. is to be possessed with the notion which many French entertain of the English, fancying that a Frenchman knows every thing. By my French air, they were pleased to think so of me, and I, for the honour of the likeness,

ness, when things were put to me above my abilities, answered by signs and gestures, like the Englishman in Rabelais. This part is acted to the greater advantage, if not over all Italy, at least in Lombardy, as the prepossession in favour of France is carried so far, as to conceive even of the French petit-maitres, that the very reason of their giving no answer to any thing, is because they know every thing.

The Ambrosian library founded by cardinal Frederic Boromeo is the largest, the finest, and the most valuable foundation, which, I do not say any private person, but even any sovereign, ever planned and executed in favour of the arts and sciences since the revival of them in Europe. It is the Alexandrian museum. To this library the noble founder has annexed a congregation of secular priests, with the title of the Ambrosian college: the printed history of this foundation has spread the knowledge of it all over the world. Within this century, a society of noblemen at Milan, under the denomination of *Socii Palatini*, contributes to the charge of a considerable printing-house, which has already produced some very valuable works, particularly the learned Muratori's collections.

In the Milanese territories, justice is administered by the Roman law with some modification of customs and statutes. Most of these statutes are of the good king Lewis XII. whose name they accordingly bear. These statutes, in successions, petitions, disposals of fathers to their children, have established the law of equality, which the nobility itself can elude only by entails, or the acquisition

acquisition of lands in countries where this law is not in force. For some time past endeavours have been used for a general revival of these laws, in order to form a code, which, disposing them together, according to their respective objects, should explain the one by the other, and settle their use and authority. To the misfortune of mankind, projects of this kind are seldom carried into execution. This was certainly quashed by the untimely death of count Christiani; who, to the extreme loss of the state, departed this life on the 10th of July 1758, the very day of our arrival at Milan, and is well worthy of more particular mention.

He was a miller's son of the duchy of Placentia, and from clerk to an attorney was made judge of a village; in which quality having some concerns of the peasants of his district to lay before M. Trotti, president of the council at Milan to the emperor Charles VI. this minister perceived in him a knowledge and talents above his rank, and placed him in one of his offices. Some time after he was employed in negociations; and in this department he displayed abilities, which the house of Austria made good use of in several European courts. On the peace, the empress queen set him at the head of the administration of her hereditary dominions in Italy, with the title of chancellor. While the Milanese honoured his talents for administration, their only exception against him was his countenancing the officers of the revenue, with a partiality which they accounted selfish; whereas, considering his employments, his equipage, which was far from being splendid, and the economy

mony in every part of his household, he died far from being rich. He met death with all the composure for which he was remarkable in negotiations. In the latter days of his life he received a long letter from his sovereign, all written with her own hand, desiring him to mind only the recovery of his health, to forbear all business, and preserve himself for herself and the state. "I could," they are the empress's very words, "I could be easier under the loss of half an army, than of such a minister as you. Do not trouble yourself about your children; in me they have a mother filled with all the sentiments for them, which they can expect from the fondest father; and I will do more for them than such a father could desire." He has left three, the eldest of whom, an ecclesiastic, is already possessed of benefices to the amount of above thirty thousand crowns. Count Christiani was not very happy in a physiognomy. Like Cæsar, he could dictate to four clerks at the same time; he eat a great deal, was continually at work, and all he allowed to sleep was only the short intervals between business. A total corruption of the mass of blood put an end to his glorious career. No body was better acquainted with the constitution, defects, and resources of the state which had been committed to his administration, and he was beginning to make the people happy: their esteem was mingled with so much awe as not to dare betray the least contempt of him on account of his birth, and they have sincerely lamented his death. Their grief might partly arise from an apprehension that count Christiani, would be succeeded by some haughty, over-

overbearing, severe German. This, indeed, is pretty much the behaviour of that nation towards the inhabitants of the hereditary countries in Italy, treating them as the Romans did all other people, as men of a lower species. The Milanese stoop too much to these arrogant notions, it being no uncommon thing for them to marry a German woman, though Germany has never been known to vouchsafe them the honour of taking a wife, even out of the first families of Milan.

Since Milan has been governed only by a secondary authority, justice has lost much of that vigour, which the sovereign's presence generally secures to it. Despair, and often an impossibility of obtaining it, puts people on doing themselves justice. The magistrate winks at the effects of private vengeance, and confines his care to the prohibiting stilettos and pocket pistols. The dispatch and impartiality of justice in France and the northern states, removes all apprehensions from such weapons, which, in any country where justice should become venal, tedious or too expensive, would be as common as in Italy. Take away the law, and men relapse into the state of nature, in which violence redresses violence. A shadow of justice may perhaps hinder the immediate application of the remedy, but it will not hinder the effects of revenge, and this being long suspended and meditated, will be the more cruel and unavoidable (a). Experience has long since taught the Northern nations,

(a) *Nihil in civitate tam diligenter, quam jus, retinendum est: quo sublato, nihil est quod æquabile inter omnes esse possit.*
Cic. pro Cæcinnâ,

that the laws are the strongest band of society : so intimately were they persuaded of this truth, that even in those times when every thing seemed to be determined by the sword ; one of the most sacred oaths taken by their kings was to do justice rightly and speedily. Their laws relating to duels were exceptions to the general institutions, and those laws have been wrongly judged of, having been judged of from the exceptions.

Till justice could have recovered that force, of which count Christian intended the restoration, by the code he was drawing up ; and till that code should cut up the very roots of private revenge, he checked its sanguinary effects, by the most strict and severe execution of the laws against carrying weapons : any one apprehended with a prohibited weapon, being carried before him, was bastonaded without mercy, cast into a dungeon for two or three days, with allowance only of bread and water, and for his discharge paid a heavy fine. Such a procedure, which indeed had something of the Turkish in it, could not fail of making a strong impression on the people ; but it did not root out the cause of the evil, which, on the chancellor's decease, may be supposed to have taken its former course.

I have not been able to come at an exact account, how the finances are managed in the Italian hereditary dominions of Austria ; all I could learn is, that the substance of the Spanish administration still takes place there, and that the court of Vienna, since its alliance with France, draws annually from these states not less than between eight or nine millions in specie. The consequence of such exactions is a diminution both of
the

the trade and inhabitants of Milan; and such a diminution, that in 1758, two complete apartments, with stables, coach-house, cellar, and kitchen, and in a house with a court yard before it, in the very heart of the city, and one of the finest parts, were let at only four hundred French livres a year. So lately as the last century, Milan contained three hundred thousand inhabitants, and now the highest computation is 80,000. If the Milanese mourn over their present condition, they shudder at the prospect of what is to come, of the total ruin expected from an alliance, which, depriving them both of the sums spent by the German's garrisons there, and brought among them from time to time by the wars, leaves them, without any resource but industry; and for this to be duly employed, there must be a plentiful circulation of money. In a word, they dolefully compare their present situation, with that of their ancestors, under the first French and Austrian viceroys, the Trivulces, the Duguasts, the Gonzagues, the Pescaras, who amidst a brilliant court, and for grandeur and magnificence emulating all the sovereigns, among whom Italy was at that time divided, enriched Milan, and enabled it to furnish much larger subsidies than it pays at present, and which were scarce felt. The inference from this comparison seems to be, that a state in which the sovereign does not reside, must be like a farm, the produce of which is always in proportion to the proprietor's expences in keeping buildings in repair, or in improvements of any kind, and to the farmer's circumstances. Herein, as in a thousand

other respects, it is the same with political as with domestic œconomy.

The fair sex both of the highest and lowest rank at Milan are but very indifferent in their persons, whereas the middle or trading class affords a great many very pretty women; in dress and gallantry they come very near the fashions and gallantry of Paris, indeed much nearer than in many substantial places in France. Milan is the first and last town where the women have the free carriage, the air and manners of France: *Altera fundi illius calamitas*. Every where else you meet with only antiquated fashions, an unmeaning countenance, and such a gait as must necessarily result from poking the head forward and throwing the elbows backward, where they remain fixed, as if a stick had been driven through the joint of both arms. At a play, you see all the gay world, and to the greater advantage, as during the play the ladies receive visits: for this purpose their boxes are illuminated, and set off with looking glasses, couches on every side, and suitable hangings; these boxes, which are hired by the year, may be close shut in the front, and very often only a small part of them is open, that the play may the less disturb the conversation.

Some imagine they again meet with French gaiety at Milan; nothing like it; it is incompatible with that Spanish ceremonial which Milan still retains: there is more sociableness here than in other parts of Italy, but this goes no farther than formal feasts on great occasions, and all the sumptuousness of them does not create festivity.

This is not the only relick of Spanish sovereignty; whether from policy, or the sole force of example,

ample, the Spaniards alienated the first houses of Milan from commerce; whereas till the establishment of the Austrian dominion here, they had united it with nobility. This revolution in ideas soon spread its contagion, and, in imitation of the great, every citizen, who had got a little money by trade, quitted it, clapped on a sword and feather, and set up for *Hidalgo*! which he might do the better, the names of the principal houses of Milan being very common among the citizens, and even among the lower class. (a) I was shewn a Visconti mending shoes at the corner of a street; yet, have not experience and reflection been able to eradicate a prejudice, which has dried up the source of public wealth. The very nobility are sensible of this, and even wish for the revival of the antient system: insignificant wishes, whilst the nobleman looks on the banker and tradesman as different species from himself, and the tradesman repines at being only a tradesman. It was the times of the antient system that gave rise to the Italian saying, which tradition has still preserved: *Chi volesse rassettare Italia, si rovina Milano*. To recover Italy, Milan must be ruined. The total decay of the trade of this city has long since reduced it, beneath the jealous designs intimated in this proverb.

Let us, however, cast an eye on the objects of its present trade.

(a) The confusion which this mixture must produce in the names of persons, will not appear surprising to those who are acquainted with that which adoptions, manumissions, patronage and clientship had introduced among the Romans. Whether bastardy came into the account of the latter I know not.

I. Raw silks. Milan is to this day the centre of a commerce requiring large capitals, and which some of the wealthiest houses have engrossed as a clandestine company; a monopoly no less disadvantageous to the buyers, than ruinous to the very essence of the commerce. The company forestals the silk from cottage to cottage at the time of the crop, and sometimes even before. No sooner is the crop over, than it contracts for the Bergamo and Verona silk, and that of all the towns near the Milanese, with other monopolizers, who bring them to these places, and without running the risk of any thing that may happen, forward them to Milan, in which their profit is both quick and considerable. When the company have got their several silks lodged in their warehouses, they send word to England and France that the crop has failed or run but very low, and set the price on silks accordingly. Private houses, carrying on the same trade, independantly of the company, finding it for their advantage to come into that price, usually do so. But if at any time foregoing a present greater gain, in hopes of increasing their trade, they offer and send away their silk at a lower price, the company have this way to bring them into order again. Whatever the expectations of the following crop may be, they give out that it will be very plentiful, and of course they lower the price of silks. If the crop turns out scanty, or even totally fails, yet the price of the silks remains as it was, and thus the rival houses bring themselves into discredit, by selling at a higher price; and if they fall to the company's price, they must ruin themselves. Then the company,

company, not being able to make good their engagements, and willing to lessen their losses by lessening their sales, have another expedient to bring themselves off. They write to the English that the French have been too quick for them, and to the French make the same complaint of the English; in the mean time, the manufactures of both nations are at a stand for want of materials: hence a sudden revolution in their commerce, equally hurtful, both to the merchant who relied on the manufacturer's engagements, and to the manufacturer who had governed himself by the advices from Milan.

This monopoly preys on the silk trade in its very source. The Milan houses, though in no connection with the company, are, by the above measures and artifices, made to depend on it, and, being often under a necessity of disposing of the materials to it, or circumvented in the regular sale of them by those artificers, they grow tired of a trade which must be carried on, as it were, sword in hand. All competition being thus quashed and ruined, and the silk-cultivator now obliged to accept of what price the buyers fix, turns to more profitable objects than industry, of which the sole support and encouragement is the hope of gain: instead of new plantations and new improvements in that kind, the old are neglected and run to ruin. In a word, the cultivation of silk in Lombardy now labours under the same difficulties which ruined it in Romania. The cultivators in this part of Italy, whose chief fund of wealth has a long time consisted in silk, wearied out by the monopoly set up at Milan and Venice, and crushed by the duties on the importation of

foreign silks into those two states, have given up the cultivation of mulberry-trees; and what little silk those which remain yield, the English, out of mere good-will, take off the hands of the people of Romania, who, having no other vent for their goods, part with them as people driven to their last shifts.

The chief of the Milan manufactures are gold and silver laces, embroideries in gold and silver, tinsel and thread laces: these are chiefly kept up by Italian sobriety, the low price of provisions, and, its consequence, the low price of work.

The basis of the gold lace manufacture was originally the Peru pistoles, plentifully brought into the Milanese by the Spaniards; and this manufacture was the more considerable, as the Italians use a great deal of lace for the ornaments and hangings of churches and the furniture of palaces. Lyons, from only sharing in this manufacture, is upon engrossing it, since, by the scarcity of gold at Milan, the manufacture has begun to be reduced to tinsel.

Its embroideries, (a) the taste and delicacy of which are admirable, deserve to be better known in France: the people of Lyons might introduce them with the greater advantage, as at Milan they turn to very good account.

This city vends a prodigious quantity of silk-handkerchiefs excellently manufactured, and by the Italians accounted an approved amulet against fore throats, which, from the moistness of the air,

(a) This art is of a very long standing at Milan. See Brantome, *passim*.

are very common in Lombardy and Romania: these handkerchiefs are a part of the *deshabille* of the princes and noblemen; but the trading or lower people are never without them at home or abroad. In the summer time they have them waving on their shoulders, and use them to wipe the sweat from their faces; but in the morning and evening they take them in, and tie them very close and carefully round their necks.

Milan being by its situation the natural staple of Swisserland, part of Germany, France, and Italy, the distribution of all the goods to be conveyed from one of these countries into another, makes the capital or secondary business of several houses; and by duties, warehouse charges, and bargains for loadings, leaves no small sums at Milan: in these bargains the brokers take care to get a feeling, both from their principals and the carriers. All goods going from Italy into France or Swisserland are carried on mules, and what is sent from Milan into the inward parts of Italy goes by water. The most valuable goods, or those which are to be delivered with the most expedition, are carried behind the *chaïses* or *cambiaturas*: these carriages are of such a construction, and hung so, that they carry a great deal behind, without any inconveniency to the horses. The waggoners who swarm on the great roads in France, in Italy are employed only for carrying the effects and baggage of a governor, coming to or going from his province, of a legate in his way to or returning from his legation, or of cardinals who are hastening to Rome on the opening of a conclave. The many charges attending any kind of transportation, constitutes the riches of the Milan

lan brokers, and their interest is the only thing that hinders the setting up of waggons in Italy. The danger of the roads from robbers is a mere pretence; why should roads be more dangerous for five or six waggoners going together, than for two or three chaises?

Another kind of trade accruing from necessity, Milan owes to its being situated at the foot of the Alps. The Swiss and French, or they who are going into Italy through Swisserland or France, either on business or out of mere curiosity, proceed as far as Milan by the Vetturini, and here they provide themselves with an equipage suitable to their rank, or the figure they propose to make. Young prince Schwalof going from France into Italy, sold carriages at Lyons for 12 or 15,000 livres, which at Paris had cost him 25 or 30,000, and at Milan he furnished himself again to the like amount: were all travellers as rich as Russian princes, the furnishing them with carriages would make Milan alive again; yet this city lays the generality of travellers, even the most cautious, more or less under contribution; they are told that only crossing the Alps ruins a carriage; that the French post chaises, either in winter or summer, will not do for the roads in Italy; and that they require a chaise so contrived as to be taken to pieces, and put together in the twinkling of an eye, and by any hands; now the Milan carriages, besides those conveniencies, are both light and strong, the wood and the leather of a good quality, together with the advantage of carrying a great deal without overloading the horses.

Another

Another branch of the Milan trade which France has not, but which it need not envy, is the produce of the rice grounds in the Milanese. The rice grows in fields all under water, which rises with the plant, so that during the whole time of its growth, only the top appears above water. The numberless canals which intersect Lombardy, induce the landed men to this culture; which indeed has been carried so far, that all the Milanese is like to become one rice ground, that is, one continual fen; unless, as we were told, the government intends some limitation be put to this culture; experience having made known to it the noxious effects of the air of rice grounds; and which are the more noxious and unavoidable, from the vast increase of those grounds. Even in times when these grounds were but thinly scattered, the villages which lay north or east of them, were every year visited with some contagious disease; and the greater part of the peasants employed in this culture, are carried off by the dropsy before they see forty.

Milan was the arsenal, which, in the sixteenth century, supplied Europe with complete fire-arms. Brantome is particular in reciting the obligations of this kind, which France owes to the Milanese; and his account is worth notice, for its importance to the military history of France.

“ If the lord admiral, says Brantome, has
 “ gained such high reputation by his excellent
 “ regulations for the infantry, and bringing it to
 “ such a discipline, M. Strozzi deserves no small
 “ praise, as it was he who introduced the advan-
 “ tageous way of arming it, and both the make
 “ and

“ and use of the fine arquebuses of the present
“ bore. M. d’Andelot indeed made them a lit-
“ tle known, when discharged out of the castle of
“ Milan, where he had learned them from the
“ Spaniards. For there is no veteran who will not
“ say that our musquetry formerly was nothing like
“ what it has been since ; being only little paltry
“ barrels, mounted in the Lucca manner, as it
“ was called, that is, in the shape of a shoulder
“ of mutton ; and the flask, which then bore that
“ same name, was suitable or rather worse, being
“ of boiled leather, horn, or any sorry stuff. After-
“ wards in Piedmont they took up with Pignerol
“ barrels which were forged there ; these were
“ a little better tempered, but very long and
“ thinnish, yet, considering the times, were good.

“ Afterwards they were used as fowling-pieces
“ on account of their good qualities. Their flasks,
“ as before, were good for little. The match for
“ the arquebuse the soldier wore twined round his
“ arm, holding the end of it in his hand, the
“ more readily to clap it to the match-lock. The
“ Turkish janissaries have not yet left off that
“ custom, carrying their match still in that man-
“ ner ; and thus it cannot be so readily put to
“ the pan, as in our present way.

“ Afterwards, the Piedmontese, by degrees
“ furnished themselves with Milan barrels, which
“ they used to get partly by advantages in war,
“ and by depredations on the Spaniards ; for very
“ small was the quantity they could procure by
“ the Milanese commerce, that of arms being
“ prohibited.

“ About

“ About this time it was that M. d’Andelot came
“ from Milan, and in consequence of the truce,
“ as I have heard him say, was allowed to bring
“ away three hundred barrels and as many powder
“ flasks ; but the barrels were small, not well tem-
“ pered, and the charges in the powder flask very
“ indifferent.

“ Afterwards they were gradually carried into
“ France, and the captains were ordered to fur-
“ nish their several companies with as many as
“ they could ; but the trade not affording so many
“ as to make any great figure, they were obliged
“ to make shift with Metz and Abbeville barrels
“ and Blangy flasks : both these however came
“ very short of the Milan make. I very well re-
“ member that in the former wars, the new raised
“ companies were at first very poorly armed ;
“ and happy the captain who could boast of hav-
“ ing twenty or thirty Milan arquebuses and flasks
“ in his company ; but things came to be on a
“ better footing, and quantities were imported,
“ thanks to the care of the duke de Guise, an
“ officer, who had an eye to every thing.

“ M. d’Andelot’s old companies, and even the
“ colonel’s companies were well furnished with
“ them, so that one of them being at Rouen, and
“ making several very brisk fires on us, our men
“ said, *see what good powder the scoundrels have,*
“ *and ours is good for nothing.*

“ M. de Guise, one day, was telling this to a
“ certain great man, whom I knew, and which put
“ the other to the blush. Don’t you see, said he,
“ that it is not so much their good powder, but
“ the large cartridges in their flasks, and their
“ stout arquebuses, of d’Andelot’s providing,
“ which

“ which they are not afraid of loading double ?
 “ And if our soldiers are not so well armed
 “ now, they shall soon be. And there, says he,
 “ my friend, lies the mystery of their good
 “ powder.

“ Now M. Strozzi, who, from his youth, had
 “ preferred the arquebuse to any other arms ;
 “ and especially the Milan match-lock arquebuses,
 “ when he got a company in those former wars,
 “ spared nothing to have Milan arms, and had a suf-
 “ ficient quantity: half his company at least was
 “ provided with them ; and so much was thought
 “ of this, that M. de Guise highly praised its
 “ fine appearance. I know what I heard him say
 “ of it, and afterwards when he came to succeed
 “ Charry, he was very precise and curious in
 “ keeping up that appearance.

“ Therefore he desired, if I may not as well say
 “ obliged, all his captains to have no other
 “ arms than Milan arquebuses, flasks, and cor-
 “ nets: and for this purpose he procured a very
 “ honest and substantial dealer of the name of
 “ Negrot to come and settle at Paris, who,
 “ on M. Strozzi's word, that he would take
 “ them all off his hands, procured great quan-
 “ tities of them in a trice ; stimulated by this
 “ first profit, he carried on the trade for fifteen
 “ or sixteen years, and by it got a fortune of fifty
 “ thousand crowns, or rather more.

“ All the fault Strozzi found with the said Ne-
 “ grot, was, that the barrels were not so large and
 “ so well tempered as he would have them, though
 “ he had written letter upon letter, and very ur-
 “ gently to master Gaspar of Milan, who forged
 “ them,

“ them, and was the best gun-smith we ever
“ employed till we went to Malta.

“ M. Strozzi had writ to him some months
“ before for two dozen of barrels, with their par-
“ ticular dimensions, and that he himself would
“ come and fetch them.

“ Our honest operator, master Gaspar, plied
“ his work with such assiduity, that when we came
“ to Milan, M. Strozzi found them all ready,
“ and so much to his liking, that he made pre-
“ sents of them to his intimate friends; I came
“ in for one, and still keep it in my closet.
“ On this, master Gaspar made these arquebuses
“ his only business; yet as many as he made,
“ were all bought up by the other French who
“ came after us; we being in the van, they
“ would by no means be out-done by us. I can-
“ not omit here, that honest Gaspar, when he saw
“ M. Strozzi, could not sufficiently admire and
“ love him, and indeed all of us, so that he
“ took down our names, saying, that we had
“ made a man of him for ever.

“ This, I know, might as well have been
“ omitted, but I love to remember and talk of
“ such things. After this interview master Gaspar
“ went on making barrels of this large caliber;
“ but, withal, so well bored, filed, and especial-
“ ly smoothed, that there could be no fault found,
“ and they were never known to burst. Withal
“ we caused the flasks to be made handsome, and
“ the charges at least proportionably great.

“ Thus it was that we got the first use of
“ those barrels with large bores, so that when
“ one

“one was discharged, you would have taken
“it to have been a volley of muskets, and all
“along our march through Italy, where ever we
“had occasion to fire them off, the people stood
“quite amazed.”

Brantome goes on with an account of the obligations, under which France lies to M. Strozzi, and the city of Milan, for bringing arquebuses, muskets, corslets, and morions to such perfection.

In trade and money-matters, the Milanese are still *Lombards* in the sense which the French had put on that name, when the nation, which bears it, used to share with the Jews, in all dealings in money and paper at Paris. Petty gains are an inticement to them which they cannot withstand, not only in great concerns, but in the plain and common acts of friendship. Disinterestedness, to be sure, never has been the capital virtue of trade; yet to gain, one must sometimes be willing to lose: this the French both know and practise, whereas the Italians seem to be quite strangers to such a maxim. The cause of this difference in thinking and acting, perhaps, may be the great multiplicity of current coins in Italy; as by reason of this multiplicity, one either loses or gains in receiving or laying out any little sum whatever; the specie, which there is an advantage in receiving, being, for that very reason, disadvantageous to expend, and *vice versa*. Thus, among the Italians, all trade is a perpetual stock-jobbing: a jobbing, to which they are trained from their infancy, which to the French is downright plague; and, lastly, borders on sharpening,

sharping, and naturally leads to it. Hence that tacit combination among all the Italians against every foreigner: hence that secret treaty among them, by the first article of which, he who recommends a stranger to a tradesman, as a customer, is intitled to a fee from the tradesman. For instance, as we were about buying a chaise at Milan, we spoke to a gentlemen of the law, with whom some recommendations had connected us, and who was not wanting in any of the civilities and friendly offices which foreigners meet with in France. Accordingly he took us to a saddler, who he said was an honest man and a good workman: we talked the matter over with him, but the bargain had very near been broken off on account of an odd sequin, he asking fifty-one, and I would not comply till I had brought the saddler to own that the odd sequin was for the lawyer's recommendation fee.

M. Morelli's family, with whom we were very conversant, is an instance that God, in the midst of the general corruption, had reserved to himself one righteous man.

*Domus hac nec purior ulla,
Nec magis bis aliena malis.*

The master of this house procured us every conveniency and entertainment in his power; he gave us open credit to the amount of thirty thousand livres; he loaded us with recommendations to the first trading houses throughout all Italy; he gave us a letter to his brother at Rome, a prelate of distinguished eminence; and all this was done with the easy courtesy and dignity of a Mont-

martel. Indeed M. Morelli we found, by the particular regard every where shewn to his recommendation, and the reception we met at Rome from his brother, is the Montmartel of Milan. Such is the activity and compass of M. Morelli's genius, that he has a practical knowledge of banking, trade, and finances in all the several parts and appurtenances: being in the flower of his age, he makes a rapid progress in that career, where the Medici of Milan, the Odescalchi and other famous traders of the Milanese, so very advantageously distinguished themselves in the two last centuries.

The day before we left Milan, came the news of cardinal Rezzonico's exaltation; instantly all Milan claimed kindred with the new pope, every house of any consideration was illuminated, and paid and received compliments.

P L A C E N T I A.

The duchy of Parma and Placentia fills the center of Lombardy; both its situation and fruitfulness give it every advantage favourable to population, with proper encouragement of trade, agriculture, and any kind of industry; yet is it a desert in comparison of the mountains of Genoa, where all those advantages are wanting.

About Placentia we saw the ground where the Spaniards and French attempted in 1746 to force the Austrians. This spot is naturally fortified, being intersected every way by a multitude of canals. It was at no great distance from
thence

thence (a) that 1960 years before, the consul Sempronius had been defeated by Hannibal, in a place to which this defeat has given the name of *Campo-morto*, which it bears to this day. The Roman general might, with the same advantage as the Austrians, have continued in his post, and received the Carthaginians; but from a blind impetuosity he quitted the intrenchment which the Trebia formed for him, and marched to an enemy, who knew better than to come to him. Hannibal was master of all the country on the left of that river: *Omnem agrum usque ad Padi ripas populatus erat.*

In Livy's account of this action, we find that after the victory had been decided in favour of the Carthaginians, a body of ten thousand Romans, breaking through the victorious army, marched directly to Placentia without crossing the Trebia again. *Decem ferme millia hominum cum aliâ evadere nequissent---et cum in castra reditus non esset, flumine interclusis---Placentiam recto itinere perrexere (b).* This event raises a doubt whether Placentia had the same situation then as at present. Indeed, if at the juncture in question this city stood on the Trebia, one might get thither from the field of battle without crossing the river again: If, as at present, it lay about a quarter of a league beyond the Trebia, there was no getting thither, *recto itinere*, but by a

(a) *In propinquitate fluminum & paludum.* Liv.

* Tit. Lib. 21.

(b) May it not likewise be inferred from this very passage, that Hannibal had only drawn up the left of his army along the Trebia, though the chevalier Follard makes him to fight with his whole army, having this river in its rear? Polybius agrees with Livy in favour of the first position.

bridge cross the river. Now this bridge was an important concern in Hannibal's dispositions, and he being master of the ground would not have failed taking post on it, or at least covering it by a body of troops, or even by some work which would have cut off the retreat of those ten thousand men, and the remains of the Roman army, *qui passim per agros fugâ sparsi, vestigia cedentis sequentes fluminis, Placentiam contendere.* The unmolested retreat of this body manifests, beyond all doubt, that the communication with Placentia was absolutely free and open. It therefore seems more natural to suppose that Placentia, at that time, stood on the Trebia, (a) than to imagine that Hannibal, after such masterly skill in bringing about the victory, would have neglected a precaution on which the capital fruit of it depended. This problem I have laid before some military gentlemen and people of the country: *adbuc sub judice lis est.*

The mentioning the people of the country and the military men, puts me in mind that the former were not yet got over their wonder at the French having lived so peaceably and quietly with one another in the campaign of 1746. Not so much as a sword had been drawn; whereas in the former war a duel happened now and then, though not so frequent as before. Concerning

(a) We shall find hereafter in the article of Modena, that on the rebuilding of this city in the 9th century, its situation was changed: as there was the like reason, so the like method may have been taken with regard to Placentia, which St. Ambrose reckoned among the *semirutarum urbium cada-*
vera.

this

this, I was told the answer of an old lieutenant-colonel, on being asked the reason of this peaceableness: how the devil would you have people fight, whose stomachs and heads are now only full of lemonade? It was added, that in that campaign of 1746, both Spaniards and French shewed the keenest animosity, corps to corps, and man to man; that, on many occasions, the service had suffered by this animosity, which was such, that, once at noon-day, near Hospitaletta, a regiment of Spanish horse charged a regiment of French horse, their camps being separated only by the highway. I was farther told that, the evening before the battle of Placentia, all the churches were crowded with Spaniards, confessing and receiving the sacrament: whereas all the public houses were full of Frenchmen carousing, swearing and revelling. This occasioned a question, which of these dispositions, so very different, shewed the most bravery. It was a saying of Xenophon, that the bravest warrior and the least afraid of men, is he who most fears the gods: to be sure he would have betted on the Spaniards, who indeed behaved extremely well, and in broad day, marched up to the fire with a composed intrepidity along a smooth ground, and through the cross fires of eight or ten batteries.

The city of Placentia was the last place of Roman Gaul, *Gallia togata*: its adherence to the Roman republic, and afterwards to the emperors, brought on it many severe misfortunes, till after standing a terrible siege by Totila, (a) in which the inhabitants were reduced to eat human flesh

(a) Procop. de bell Gothico.

before they would surrender, it fell under the dominion of the Goths, from whom it passed successively to the Lombards, to the kings of Italy of the line of Charlemain, and the several princes who succeeded those kings. At length, with most of the Italian cities, it recovered a liberty which involved it in all the evils of anarchy: and these were renewed under the dominion of the dukes of Milan, amidst continual struggles in favour of liberty. It made part of the Italic conquests of Lewis XII. and Francis I. Between these two conquests Julius II. making himself master of it, had united it to the church's domain. Charles V. and the Venetians having since given it to Leo X. Paul III. in 1545, conferred it as a fief on Peter Lewis Farnese his son. It is at present held by the infant Don Philip, by virtue of his mother, in whom the illustrious name of Farnese expired.

Independently of the declaration of Jesus Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world, it would not be difficult to justify this infeoffment even by the laws of policy. In effect, without prying too narrowly into the springs of the papal government, he who has seen the deplorable condition of the duchy of Ferrara, must be convinced that the nature of that government does not suit with an extensive dominion. It is the interest of Venice that has secured this duchy of Ferrara to the holy see, for this only reason that it makes a barrier between that republic and the territories of Lombardy, about which the Ultramontain powers are in continual contest. The duchies of Parma and Placentia being in the center of those territories, had the holy see retained the sovereignty of them, it would have been

been at the head of all the wars, which for two centuries past have caused such variations in the limits of the several Italic states; so that it was, in every respect, more advantageous to the popes to alienate those duchies, with the reserve of an appearance of dominion, than to persist in retaining the actual sovereignty of this country without being able to keep it.

Of their inability to keep it they had a sufficient proof in the inability of Clement XI. to make good the right of reversion to these states, which had been agreed to in favour of the holy see, in failure of the male-issure in the house of Farnese. After very learned, very profound, and explicit memoirs in behalf of that right, Clement XII. had the mortification to see the emperor Charles VI. exercise, *pleno jure*, all the rights of sovereignty in those treaties, which put the infant Don Philip in possession of the states of the house of Farnese.

Placentia, by its situation, the breadth and regularity of its squares and streets, the architecture of palaces and public edifices, the noble paintings and sculptures, and the fountains which are such embellishments to those edifices and squares, would be one of the finest cities in all Lombardy, did not a want of inhabitants deprive it of the principal beauty that a city can boast (*a*). Leandro Alberti says, that, in this particular, it was still very prosperous at the time of its being conferred on the Farnesian fa-

(*a*) Scotti's itinerary printed in 1747, allows Placentia twenty-eight thousand souls, in which there is an excess of at least two thirds.

mily; and that, in the short space of freedom, under the protection of Charles V. after the first Farnese had been murdered, the riches brought thither by manufactures and trade had enabled it to rebuild its walls with regular fortifications, and even a very strong citadel; all the citizens being animated with a generous emulation in contributing to those works and hastening the finishing of them. The condition into which it has fallen since that epocha, is undoubtedly connected with many causes, of which I shall not enter into a discussion; observing only that the present sovereign has just set up a manufacture of silk. The view of his great expences for this foundation is to revive industry; but that good end would be much better answered, by taking under his protection, and spreading his liberalities among a number of particular manufactures.

The equestrian statues of the famous Alexander Farnese and Ranuccio his son, which stand in the great square, appear to me exquisitely fine, and superior to any thing of the kind that Paris affords. The inscription on the pedestal of that of Alexander I thought the more extravagant, with regard to his expedition into France for the service of the *League*, as that fruitless expedition was not one of this hero's greatest achievements; but to be sure, it looked grand to represent him trampling on all France.

The cathedral and most of the churches are embellished with paintings of the greatest masters of the Bologna school, I mean the Carrachi and their principal disciples, such as Guerchini and Lanfranco. Placentia was the place where the latter

latter passed through the elements of that art, in which he shone with such lustre. The first encouragements and assistances he owed to the Scotti family, into the service of which he was taken from his childhood. In the Scotti palace are several paintings placed there by himself, as memorials of his gratitude.

At St. Sixtus, a rich convent of Benedictines founded by Engilberga, spouse to the emperor Lewis II, is that princess's monument, and near it is the great altar said to be done from designs of Michael Angelo; it stands at the entrance into the choir, and represents only a table supported by two angels; a shrine fills up part of the void occasioned by the suspending of the table. Certainly nothing is more natural, nothing more finished, than every particular of this piece, and the effect of the whole is simple, but noble and enchanting. The altar, together with the six candlesticks on it, are of bronze, which time has covered with that *patina* so highly esteemed by the Italians, though it makes such things, as these candlesticks particularly, look like so much old kitchen tackle. This is a kind of beauty which would take very little with the French taste for glitter. All Rome, at our arrival there, was in an uproar against this showy taste, which had occasioned the repolishing of those admirable bronzes that adorn the *confession of the apostles*, (a) and of those belonging to St. Peter's chair. This repair was looked on as a real degradation, which giving to these pieces a borrowed appearance of newness, took from them that ex-

(a) At St. Peter's at Rome.

cellence of sculpture, and that life which the imitable skill of the artists had infused into them; but the parts chiefly lamented, were the pillars executed by Francis the Fleming, and the children interspersed among the festoons within the wreaths of those pillars. In a word, of this repair, in itself very expensive, and so injurious to the pieces which were the objects of it, the people of Rome had the same thoughts, as the connoisseurs in France, when, on the return of every spring, they see all the statues in the gardens of Versailles and the Tuilleries left to the Savoyards, whose cleaning them puts one in mind of the Lorrainer in Rabelais, who, in the middle of May, was brushing himself clean, as if he wore a Spanish cloak.

Cicero, in his dialogue of *Brutus*, mentions with applause some orators, who, in his time flourished at Placentia with talents, which might have figured at the bar of Rome, and in whom nothing was wanting but that air of urbanity, (a) which was to be acquired only amidst genteel company at Rome.

Of late Placentia has given birth to the famous Alberoni. His extraction was of the very meanest; and he had risen to some small living belonging to the cathedral of Placentia, when the duke de Vendome accidentally coming to the knowledge of him, took him into his service, made him his first aid de camp, and confident, &c. The last years of his life he spent in his native country, where, having recovered an estate belonging to a commandery called San Lazaro, and lying under the

(a) *Urbanitatis color.* Omnium enim, adds Cicero, in nostris est quidam urbanorum, sicut ille Atticorum, sonus.

cannon of Placentia, he founded a seminary, erected at his own expence all the several buildings fit for such an institution, and procured it to be suitably endowed. Having these lands, he joined others in the neighbourhood of Placentia, which he discovered to have been usurped from the church. This foundation was an eye sore to the Placentians: But how great must have been the mortification of the cardinal himself, when, in the campaign of 1746, his seminary becoming the point of attack and defence to three formidable armies, was battered in his very sight by all the Spanish and Genoese artillery, which did not leave a single wall standing!

The most intimate of my friends being at that time in the French army, had the pleasure of seeing his eminence. On the Austrians taking possession of his seminary, he had withdrawn to Placentia, in an apartment, the whole furniture of which was a bed, a table and four chairs, with a little pot boiling in the chimney over the small fire of an apricot tree, cut that very day in the court-yard of the house to which his apartment belonged; neither his money nor interest having been able to procure a faggot.

The cardinal at that time was above fourscore, yet without any of the infirmities of old age. My friend had been introduced to him by the president Scrivani, and those three persons have frequently spent three or four hours by themselves. He treated Mr. Scrivani as a bosom friend. The conversation was free and lively, and the old gentleman, who had a great share in it, by his spirited manner heightened the impression, which the subjects

subjects he related or discussed would, from their importance, have naturally made on such hearers. He spoke Italian, French or Spanish, according to the affairs or persons he was talking of; and in these three languages he expressed himself with equal energy and vivacity: his reflections he usually backed with some maxims of Tacitus, and always in Latin; his relations and remarks usually turned on the campaigns in which he had attended the duke de Vendome, his ministry in Spain, and the transactions on the carpet, at the time of this disaster. The particulars of all this I have seen in my friend's memoirs, who among other singularities heard him lay down his plan for settling the pretender; a plan which I have since met with unfolded more at large in that cardinal's will, as made public since his death.

The above memoirs farther inform me, 1st. that when, in 1746, marshal Maillebois came into Placentia at the head of the French army, to fight against his advice that battle, which the council of Madrid had resolved on, cardinal Alberoni, too eager to stand on ceremony, flew to the marshal, and got to his anti-chamber without sending up his name. A secretary, better acquainted with the exercise of troops than the ceremony of courts, was for stopping the cardinal, telling him in an abrupt manner, that the marshal was busy and saw no body. Friend, answered the cardinal with an imperious air, at the same time opening the door himself, I would have you to know that the duke de Vendome would see me on his close-stool. This answer in the memoirs is followed by another very
keen

keen one of the Abbé Aqua Viva, but which here might be thought misplaced. 2d. These memoirs inform me that the Spaniards, who were blocked up in Placentia, expressed the deepest veneration for cardinal Alberoni: they mentioned, with transport, how greatly their monarchy was obliged to his ministry, a ministry very remarkable indeed, by exciting the jealousy of the greatest powers in Europe, leagued together against a man, who, by the force of his genius, the extent of his designs, and the depth of his views, had made himself thus formidable.

*Nimium vobis Hispana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.*

By the laws of Placentia, children share equally, even in noble inheritances. This equality being the *Palladium* of democratical states, and the finew of industry in commercial towns, might suit Placentia before it was transferred to the house of Farnese; but since that settlement, since the decay of its manufactures, since its nobility have given over trade, that equality subdividing the fortunes of the nobility *ad infinitum*, and depriving the country of its last resource, which it would have found in the easy circumstances of the nobility, has filled it with a people of counts and titled slaves, whose dignity is of little weight without the support of wealth.

A foreigner indeed finds himself unexpectedly rich here, by the high value of the current specie, receiving about ninety six livres for a French louis, and still is he a loser; the paulis and
other

other Italic current coins, which are given him in exchange, being four times their value; among them are slipped some of the country specie, which do not go any where else: in short, your expences there are made to keep pace with the rise of the course of exchange.

In our way from Placentia to Parma we forded, that is on the shoulders of peasants who live by this conveyance, the river Taro, on the banks of which, below Fornovo, Charles VIII. king of France, gained that memorable victory, which delivered that prince and his army out of the hands of the Italians. This river wantonly roves along a vast plain, which it furrows and covers with stones and fragments of rocks from the Appenines, without any appearance of endeavours to confine it in a fixed bed. I was told it had formerly a bridge, but no ruins or traces of any such thing could I perceive: the keeping up or repairing of this bridge would surely have done the former sovereigns of this country more real honour, than building the famous theatre of Parma, which is of no manner of use, and cannot be seen but by exposing yourself to be drowned in the Taro.

P A R M A.

Under the Romans and the ages subsequent to the fall of their empire, the destinies of Parma and Placentia, have been linked together by the same events, and the same revolutions. On the assassination of Peter Lewis Farnese, they both threw themselves in the arms of Charles V, who afterwards sold them to Octavius brother of Peter
Lewis,

Lewis, in consideration of his marriage with Margaret that emperor's natural daughter; the same Margaret who afterwards governed the Low countries with such reputation, and was mother to Alexander Farnese.

Parma is more regularly fortified than Placentia; both the works and the citadel are still in pretty good condition. Its situation is quite delightful, and the paintings in its public edifices afford a most exquisite entertainment; every place charms the curious spectator with master-pieces by Correggio, his rivals and his disciples. The Assumption in the cupola of the dome, cost that immortal artist his life. Having given himself up to the heat of his fancy, he hazarded some bold flights, which are the astonishment and admiration of the greatest masters in our days, but displeased the canons, who had bespoke the piece. Though the price was but slender, they would have it that they had been imposed on, and besides an arbitrary deduction, told him out the remainder in *quadrins* & *bajoocos*, and other copper money; which poor Correggio took on his back, carrying it two or three leagues, to an old country house where his workshop was. The incumbrance of such a burden, the heat of the day, and the length of the way, together with the indignation and fretfulness which rankled in his heart, brought on a pleurisy, some touches of which he felt by the way, and he died of it three days after, at the age of only forty years. The invaluable communion of St. Jerom by Dominichini, and Bourdon's master-piece, that distinguished ornament of Montpellier cathedral, met with the like reception, and were as ill paid

paid for, by those who had set the artists to work; as shall be related in its place.

*Quatenus, heu nefas !
Virtutem incolumem odimus :
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi !*

I said to one of the canons, from whom I had the above relation, that in honour and conscience, this chapter ought to appoint a perpetual anniversary for poor Correggio; he fell a laughing, and promised it should be done: a like proposal which I afterwards made in behalf of Bourdon, to a groupe of the prebendaries of Montpellier, who were coming together from the rising of a chapter, was answered in the very same manner.

The cathedral and several other churches in Parma, are covered with *frescos*, by Correggio Parmegiano, &c. Those of the cathedral which are mostly camayeus, represent virtues personated by women, in attitudes very elegantly varied. These figures are attired, but without hiding any stroke of nudity, and exhibit more graces than seem to comport with the place.

In a chapel of this church, was formerly seen the piece where Correggio has surpassed himself; it is a Holy family with St. Jerom, and Mary Magdalen grouped into it. The Farnesian princes shewing a strong desire of adding this piece to their immense collection, the canons took it down, and conveying it privately from hand to hand, secreted it from all the sovereign's narrow searches, for the space of forty or fifty years. On the decease of Anthony, the last duke, they lodged it among the
most

most valuable curiosities of their treasury, from whence, however, it has been removed by the infant Don Philip, and at present makes the capital ornament of a gallery in his palace, of which that prince has given the use to the academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture, founded by himself; it is kept under lock and key.

This picture is an assemblage of beauties, engaging to every eye; it speaks to the mind in its expression, delicacy, and action; and no less to the heart, in the graces, the softness, and tenderness, which strike even into the most minute circumstances. Here St. Jerom and Mary Magdalen do not stand apart from the principal subject, as in almost all the Italian pictures: St. Jerom's austerity, and Mary Magdalen's amorous cast, with the infant Jesus playing with her tresses, spread a feeling throughout the whole piece, which pleases the more, as perceivable only to an intelligent examination. Innumerable copies and engravings have been made of this wonderful performance, and though by the best hands, not one has been able to hit Mary's smile: in most of the copies, that ravishing smile is degenerated into a sneer.

Another distinguished piece by the same master, in the churches of Parma, is the Virgin *alla Scudella*, or with the porringer, at the *Rochettini*; the figures to me appeared of the shortest, but every thing else bespeaks Correggio. By way of securing the vestry keeper's fee from strangers, who would see this piece, it is hidden under a preposterous daubing, which lets down into the body of the

altar, but intercepts the air from the painting over which it hangs; and thus the moisture of the wall, settling on this pretty performance, must hasten its decay.

At the time of our being at Parma, one of its principal wonders was Madame Isabella, daughter to the infant Don Philip. In this princess, whose hand had been promised to the eldest of the arch-dukes, shone all the graces which charmed in the master-pieces that stood round her cradle (a); graces heightened by talents in all the agreeable arts, and by no slender improvements in solid literature: she resided at the palace Giardino. The hereditary prince, with a governor and preceptor appointed in France (M. de Keraglio and the Abbe de Condillac) lived by himself in the palace of Parma; whilst the infant, their father, resided at Colorno, having with him M. du Tillot, his cabinet minister, who, as he was born in Spain of French parents, possesses the characteristical merits of both nations. Among the suite of the court at Colorno, was a complete company of French players.

Mr. Addison in his travels into Italy, descants on the expensiveness of these little courts, like an Englishman, blaming it as destructive to people, who should be the happier for having their sovereign among them. He would, perhaps, have reasoned otherwise, had it occurred to him what would be the condition of these same people under a sovereign, who buried all the money he got from them.

(a) *Una omnes surripuit Veneres.*

From

From Parma to Colorno the price of postchaises is quadrupled; I would not make any great enquiry about the cause of such an apparent exaction. This palace, which was built by one of the name of San Severino, and embellished in the wars of Lewis XII. is more remarkable for its situation than the beauty and regularity of its construction. In the last Italian war, the Austrians had their head-quarters here; in what condition they left both the palace and the gardens is easily imagined.

In the gardens are two antique colosses (a). That which was least mutilated has been repaired, and at present stands in the center of a grass-plat on a pedestal proportioned to its stature. Having in this insulated position no other ground than the circumambient air, the black and glossy surface of the touch-stone, of which it is made, is hardly perceivable by the eye. The other colossus still lies in the adjoining plat, wanting a like repair. This represents a naked youth in the embraces of a little satyr, straining to lay his right-hand over the youth's right hip, and his other hand griping the left hip. Nothing can exceed the fine proportion of the principal figure; that of the satyr is diminutive, and the countenance is mean and fordid, but full of fire and expression. A pretty good design of this piece is among the ornaments in the frontispiece of Abbé Barthes's dissertation, of which I gave an account in the article of Turin.

(a) These two colosses were found last century, on the mount Palatine at Rome. See M. Bianchini *Palazzo de' Cesari*, where they are engraved.

In our way to Parma we passed through Borgo-San-Donino, a small place dignified with an episcopal see. On the outside of its cathedral's great door, which indeed is common to most of the cathedrals in Lombardy, are two marble lions, not every where of the same bigness, but either squatting, or raised on their fore paws, according to the sculptor's fancy. The greater part are mostly prior to the revival of arts in Italy. The great altar-piece in the cathedral of Borgo is a Purification, by an artist of the Bologna school; the two turtle doves are in a basket, covered with a linen cloth; a boy lifts up a corner of it, and holds out his finger at them, which they peck at.

The sovereign's palaces at Parma and Placentia are only half finished plans, which, if less enormous, would unquestionably have been completed.

REGGIO and MODENA.

These cities which, so long ago as in the reign of Theodosius, St. Ambrose termed *semirutarum urbium cadavera*, were since destroyed by those swarms of barbarians who over-ran Italy under that prince's successors (b). On the prospect of

(a) *Epist. ad Faust.*

(b) I sometimes place at the head of the articles, the accounts which, for my private use, I had extracted from the very learned, and very diffuse Leandro Alberti. These superficial strictures concerning countries, with which one is not yet acquainted, are to travellers, and those who read their narratives, like a word spoken by the by, concerning the company in an assembly, where one happens to be for the first time.

an universal peace, expected from Charlemain's government, the descendants of the former inhabitants of these cities returned and rebuilt them: they had been left in such a ruinous condition, that it was thought best to rebuild Modena in a more convenient site than where it had stood before. Through industry and populousness, animated by the love of their country and freedom, they soon became wealthy, flourishing, and martial (a). Under the anarchy which followed, the condition of these cities and the petty neighbouring states, was the same as that of the ancient *Latium* in the first ages of the Roman republic. Every city was a state by itself, ever embroiled with its neighbours, and often rent by factions and intestine divisions. If none of these states could, like Rome, acquire a dominion, it was unquestionably owing to their people's never losing sight of the ballance of power, herein more politic than the neighbours of ancient Rome; this was the capital concern absorbing all suspicions, rivalries, animosities, and private interests. In this anarchy Modena and Reggio acted a part.

(a) These cities likewise owed part of their prosperity to the laws which they made for themselves at that juncture. Among those which Modena laid down to itself in 1225 was one, revived a few years ago, by England, and a general law it ought to be in all countries which have the improvement of agriculture at heart. This law appointed a jury, on whose estimate any proprietor of one or more large parcels of land, might, by purchase or exchange, acquire the small parcels which either bordered on, or separated his possessions. By this wise measure, every farm being as one field, both to the owner's eye and the farmer's tillage, the limits of possessions became more fixed and certain, and the cultivation of them infinitely more easy.

Being mostly governed by citizens of their own, whose authority they used to shake off on every little umbrage, they successively transferred themselves to the emperor, the pope, the Venetians, the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan, but whose governors they either expelled or assassinated on the first discontent. The authors of these abrupt revolutions are commemorated in their annals among their worthies. At length Julius II. having wrested them from Alphonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, this duke recovered them, whilst Rome was besieged by Charles V. They still belong to the house of Este, by grant from Clement VIII. when he re-united the duchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical state.

The territory of these cities, is a fertile plain watered by the Po, the Panaro, the Secchia, and Lenza, and every where planted in almost a continual quincunx, with stately elms, and on each one or two large vines. The extremities of these spreading vines reaching so as to be interlaced, form, in every interval, an ample garland, the natural prominence of which in the middle, I am inclined to think gave the first hint of those garlands or festoons among the ornaments of architecture. The land thus shaded by these trees and suspended vines, is tilled and sowed: when I used to say that this was the very way to have both bad vines and bad grounds, the answer was, that it had always been the way, and that the ground was too moist and cold for the vine; and on my replying this was making the ground still more cold and moist for the grain, I had the first reason over again.

We

We were told that it has been a custom, among the vintagers, time out of mind, when they are gathering grapes on these trees near a road, to spew out at all who pass by, without minding sex or rank, all the foul language and ribaldry, used in the most abandoned places. An omission of these vociferations would be accounted a neglect of their privileges; and some who otherwise are discrete and well behaved, conform to this custom, which began with their vineyards; at least in Horace we meet with the character of one of these foul mouthed vintagers.

Durus

*Vendemiator & invictus, cui sæpe viator
Cessisset, magna compellans voce cucullum.*

Luigi Tranfillo's Stanzas, called *il Vendemiatore* are known all over Italy. The poet has heaped together all the scurrilities and obscenities used by these vintagers. This is not unlike the new kind of poetry which, to the great dishonour of Phœbus and the muses, has got footing in France of late years, by the name of *style Poissard*, Billingsgate style.

What little commerce remains in the territories of Modena accrues from their fairs, and being by their situation a staple for those of Bologna, Sinigaglia, and Alexandria, which are the most frequented in all Italy. The French woollen goods here keep up a competition with those of England; the manufactures of Lyons are preferred to all foreign silks, except the English mohairs; none but Swiss and Silesia linens are esteemed

there. The coarser woollens and linens for the lower sort of people come from Bergamo.

At Reggio and Modena are several grand pieces of painting, particularly the sovereign's rich collection in his palace, but which we did not see. Over the great altar of the cathedral of Reggio is placed a capital picture by Annibal Carracho; but in so bad a light, and the colouring so degraded, that we could scarce discern it. At the cathedral of Modena we saw a painting as wrongly placed and in as bad a light, yet better preserved, though its tints in general seem to have suffered not a little from the air of the great door, to which it is directly exposed; the subject is the purification of the Virgin Mary. Nature itself is eminently displayed in the numerous figures that compose it; but a noble and sublime nature, replete with that mystery by which all the personages in the piece are engaged. I could not but particularly admire the action of a young attendant of the high-priest. The two turtle doves are placed facing him on a stool; a child is wantonly teasing them with the tip of his finger, which the youth looks at with a sly attention; his age, his air, his looks shew that he would willingly join in the sport, were he not withheld by his vesture, the presence of the high-priest, and the ceremony in which he has the honour of officiating. Our postillion told us that it was a Guido; the master of our inn assured us that the artist was Pelegrino, an eminent painter of Modena; and a priest, whom we met with in the church, gave his honour that it was done by Raphael: for in Italy every common man is at least an *amatore*; and
I observed

I observed that our postillion viewed the above painting with no less attention, pleasure, and feeling than we ourselves.

He would likewise, by all means, be one of the company when we went to see the famous *Secchia*. This is a pail almost covered with iron; it is perceived by the light of a taper, hanging by a strong chain to the roof of a dark Gothic tower; the passage to which is through several gates, which are very carefully shut in going from one to the other. This pail is the trophy of an advantage gained by the Modenese over the Bolognese, within the very walls of Bologna, about the middle of the tenth century. Tassoni's celebrated poem, which was first printed at Paris under the author's inspection, has made known to all the learned world, the great value the Modenese place on this trophy.

To begin with Reggio, the cities of Lombardy, such as Modena, Bologna, Padua, &c. have on each side of the streets a range of porticos or piazzas, on which the first story of the houses projects. These porticos are a continued shelter from the sun and rain; but 1st. They are of no ornament to the cities, varying in form and height almost at every house, and very few with any of the rules or ornaments of architecture; 2d. The streets, being left for carriages and beasts of burden, are never swept, nor the least care taken of the pavement, so that in many places the middle of the street is a common sewer, or quagmire, which it is no body's business to have cleaned; 3d. These porticos make the streets very dangerous at dusk, and at night impracticable,

practicable, especially in a country where, from private revenge, murders are so frequent.

Reggio, though built in the same manner, is tolerably clean, whereas Modena is perpetually foul and dirty; and this unwholesome inconvenience is fed by the waters of the fountains, and a canal which joins this city to the Panaro. Tassoni himself, though a native of Modena, calls it by way of antonomasia, *La Citta Fetente*, i. e. the stinking city, and another Italian poet gives this description of it.

*Modena è una città di Lombardia
Tra'l Pannaro e la Secchia, in un patano,
Dove si smerda ogni Fedel christiano
Che s'abbate a passar per questa via.*

i. e. Modena is a city of Lombardy, in a mire between the Panaro and the Secchia, where every good christian who happens to pass this way, is sure to be befouled.

Amidst the filth and ordures of this city, *crasse-que sub aere*, have been born several persons of very great eminence in the sciences and arts, such as cardinal Sadolet, Sigonius, Molza, Castelvetro, Tassoni, Fulvio Testi, Muratori, who have all immortalized themselves by poetry or excellent pieces of history and criticism; Fallopius, one of the first anatomists in Europe, and Barozzi no less celebrated for his architecture. The little town of Correggio which stands on the Lenza, between Reggio and Modena, is famous for giving birth to that painter, who adopted its name.

BOLOGNA:

B O L O G N A.

The situation of this city is nearly the same as that of Reggio and Modena, except its proximity to the Appennine, from whence issue many brooks and rivulets, which having no very settled course, fertilize the soil by successive sediments, but at the same time fill the air with noxious exhalations.

Amidst these waters, before we reached Bologna, we were shewn the little island where Augustus, in conjunction with Mark Anthony and Lepidus, formed that triumvirate, which, by ways known only to himself, raised him to the empire of the universe.

Bologna was conquered from the Etrusci by the Boii of Gaul*, who gave it the name of *Boiona*, and afterwards from the Gauls by the Romans, who strengthened it with numerous colonies: under the first emperors it was the metropolis of twelve cities. Anthony, in the war to which the triumvirate abovementioned put an end, had made it his place of arms. In the decline of the empire, upon its taking some steps towards liberty, Gratian, to check such practices, built a citadel: but this occasioned fresh commotions, which however were severely chastised by Theodosius, who destroyed the city and put its wretched inhabitants to the sword.

Theodosius the younger rebuilt it; afterwards it came under the dominion of the Lombards, and from them passed to Charlemain's empire; at

* Tit. Liv. lib. 17.

† Plin. l. 3.

length it signalized itself in the general anarchy, into which Italy ran under that emperor's descendants. During the four centuries, which this confused state of violence lasted, and amidst all the evils and calamities which are the necessary effect and consequence of such convulsions, it increased in largeness, power, and riches. In the course of the 13th century it conquered part of Romania, subjected the Modenese, supported a three years war against the Venetians, who attacked it with an army of no less than forty thousand men. Its claim to the Modenese, and the wars to which that claim gave rise, were founded on a diploma, by which Theodosius II. on erecting the university of Bologna, granted it a part of the territory of Modena. That instrument was nothing more than an ancient inscription, very badly imitated, and placed by the Bolognese in St. Petronius's church. This spurious voucher, the Modenese combated with another of the like stamp; and on this foundation it is, that Bologna, to this very day, attributes the institution of its university to Theodosius II. Such was the turbulence of those times, that in all its annals, not two successive years are to be found, during which it has continued, under the like form of government, in a voluntary or forced submission to masters of its own election, or whom it was under a necessity of receiving,

Its law schools were, in a twofold sense, its *palladium*, drawing thither, from all parts of Europe, ten or twelve thousand students, between the ages of twenty and thirty years; and these fiery youths were the more disposed to second the resolutions,

resolutions, and political views of the council of Bologna, its chief offices being filled by the professors.

The popes often exercised the sovereignty over this city, either voluntarily or by force, but amidst such disturbances and revolutions, they never could secure themselves the steady possession of it. This miracle was reserved for Julius II. one of the most wonderful characters in all modern history. The terrible aspect, in which he shewed himself to the people of Bologna, at his public entry into this city on St. Martin's day 1506, wrought so powerfully on the imagination of this mutinous people, as to fix their variations and reduce them to the papal government. Michael Angelo, who accompanied the pope in this expedition, transfused all the indignation and fierceness which inflamed this pontiff's countenance on that occasion, into the bronze statue which he left them; so that it had more the air of a thundering Jupiter, than a pontiff giving his benediction. It was pulled down and reduced to powder in the last struggles of expiring liberty. Since that time Bologna, once so turbulent and untractable, now quiet and submissive, enjoys, under the slender umbrage of the church, a remainder of liberty, which it has never made the least attempt to abuse. By the conditions of this liberty it is intitled to nominate an auditor of the Rota, and keep an ambassador in ordinary at the pope's court; no citadel is to be built; and the effects and possessions of its inhabitants are not liable to confiscation. These stipulations, equally advantageous to the pope and the Bolognese,

exhibit

exhibit the condition of those petty states, which, under the Roman republic, *majestatem populi Romani comiter observabant*. Leo X. induced by a very wise policy, made choice of this city for the interview between him and Francis I. for settling the concordat. Here likewise, fourteen years after, Clement VII. crowned Charles V. and in 1543, Paul III. held two interviews with the same emperor. The residence of splendid courts at Bologna, and the connections which such residence formed between the Bolognese and the French and German courtiers, taught the former to obey, shewing them in the nobility persons much their superiors, who valued themselves on obedience, and even accounted it an honour.

Bologna is at present divided between a commonalty, not at all famed for industry, and a nobility, who cannot boast of their wealth, some houses excepted; and whose magnificence, Roman like, goes no farther than a stately palace and a showy equipage. This nobility, all attached to the court of Rome, by reason of the advantages expected from it, form a very numerous body, of which part owes its origin to the former anarchy, and the other to grants from emperors. Charles V. particularly created two hundred knights on occasion of his coronation at Bologna; professorships and trade were the nursery of this body, and it is kept up and renewed by the same means and the same devices by which nobility is obtained in all countries. Among the families most known to strangers by the dignities which they have enjoyed, it is sufficient to name the Ludovici, Buon-compagni, Lambertini, Bentivogli,

fivogli, Pepoli, Azzolini, Grassi, Davia, Spada, Riari, Campeggi, Monti, Aldrovandi, Malvezzi, Marfigli, &c.

Bologna owed its first wealth and greatness to manufactures of different kinds; and at present very considerable quantities of silks are wrought by hydraulic machines, which make the workmanship more easy and expeditious. The far greater part of these silks go to France and England. As for the crapes and gauzes of Bologna, their chief vent is in Germany. Its ratafia, sausages and *mortadellas* are known all over the universe; these are the elixir of the produce of the Bolognese; that is, of the brandies distilled from all the wine of its growth, beyond what is reserved for consumption, and of the very numerous herds which cover its pastures. Hemp is one of the most considerable products of this soil, and would be the most advantageous to the inhabitants, did it employ any of the home manufactures; but almost the whole of it is exported without bleaching, very badly dressed, and dog cheap for want of vent. Scarce is it used in some very coarse kinds of linen for the populace. Its passive trade for cloth, linen, and silks, is on the same footing as at Modena and Reggio. The trading houses lay their chief stress on the fairs of Italy, which they punctually follow.

Bologna is built with piazza's like Modena and Reggio, and has the same nuisances and inconveniences. Its most considerable edifice is the public palace, in which resided the popes and sovereigns during the interviews above-mentioned: at present the legate and the chiefs of the magistracy

gistracy are lodged there: it likewise contains the principal courts of justice. Before it is a large irregular square, one part of which is taken up by its front, which is answered by that of St. Petronius's church. It was in this square that stood Michael Angelo's statue of Julius II. which has been replaced by a colossal Neptune, by John of Bologna, which mothers strictly charge their *zitelle* (girls) not to look at. It decorates a fountain, the jets or spouts of which are of a meanness very seldom seen in Italy, in things of this kind. St. Petronius's church, as to the extent of its nave, surpasses any in Bologna; in it is the famous Meridian, by which Dominic Cassini made his fortune. It has been renewed in this century, and this renewal is commemorated by a very pompous inscription. All the other churches of Bologna have only a nave, with some chapels along the side walls, or in the manner of outworks. Were all these churches equal in bigness to that of St. Petronius, Bologna could not contain them; for within its circuit, which is but about five miles, are a hundred and eighty consecrated buildings, basilics or parochial churches, together with those of religious houses, and chapels of brotherhoods. The cathedral, which has been intirely rebuilt in the modern style, is just finished, together with its stately portal, erected from designs of Torregiani, by means of funds given or procured by Benedict XIV. Bologna has several very rich monasteries. One of them, of the order of St. Benedict, had given some lands under an odd kind of acknowledgement, mentioned by Muratori in his inquiries into the donations bequeathed *à Livello*.

At

At dinner, on the festival of the patron of the abbey, the tenant used to come up to the abbot with a covered porringer, in which was a pullet boiled in rice; then lifting up the lid of the porringer, he waved it under the good father's nose and moved off with his pullet, only the smell of it being the abbot's due.

The principal ornament of Bologna would be its many palaces, were they not generally buried by those shocking piazzas. A theatre was building here, insulated on every side: no modern building of that kind has come in my way which is comparable to it for the outside decorations; and for the disposition within, it has been formed from whatever ancient and modern times afford, most adapted and suitable to the purpose of the structure, not excluding decorations, which are distributed with equal taste and œconomy. Should Paris ever think of embellishing itself with a new theatre, it could not have a better model.

But the preference of Bologna with regard to public foundations, whether modern, or perhaps ancient, consists in its celebrated INSTITUTE. The sciences and arts are assembled together in one of the finest palaces in the city, and connected, as I may say, by a large and well chosen library in all faculties: here is whatever the citizens's interest, and the foreigner's curiosity can desire. Its astronomical observatory is furnished with the best instruments: anatomy has an amphitheatre in which are the statues of the most ancient and modern physicians, and a spacious room filled with a complete set of anatomical pieces in wax: painting and sculpture, besides a most convenient apartment

for the study and practice of those arts, have two large rooms full of models of the most valuable remains of antiquity, taken from their originals: the pupils of architecture have a hall crowded with designs and models of the finest pieces, ancient and modern, among which are all the obelisks of Rome. This assemblage of studies, in every branch, is farther enriched with curious museums of antiques and natural history. Now imagine all these advantages heightened by the voice, and the lectures of able professors in every art and every science; and this gives an idea of the magnificence of this foundation, which holds the greater part of its riches from Benedict XIV's love to his country, where his family, so early as the 13th century, was in high reputation by the talents of Sarafino de' Lambertini, whom the Modenese invited from Bologna to be their Podestà.

It was that illustrious pope who furnished the observatory with instruments executed, on his orders, by the most skilful English artists; it was he who employed Hercules Lelli to make the waxen collection of anatomical pieces. Abbé count Farsetti, a Venetian, having asked his leave to take models of the finest antiques in Rome, he granted it, on condition he should cause two copies to be made of every piece, reserving the choice to himself but the price to the count; which having been punctually performed, the pope saw himself possessed of an invaluable collection both for completeness and execution. This munificent patriot sent it away to Bologna, where, even in a literal sense, it fills three large apartments of the INSTITUTE.

STITUTE. It is to be wished that it may be distributed in other apartments, which it will embellish without losing any thing of its value: the whole being thus crowded together, has too much the appearance of a warehouse; besides, a fine statue is no where misplaced.

The Institute's library is another no less splendid monument of Benedict's favour to science. On his exaltation to the pontificate he left it his private library, with a great many memoirs and collections of his own hand writing. In running over these memoirs, I accidentally lighted on those which he had from his priests, when archbishop of Bologna. Each subject in them is characterised in two words. Several I saw of most remarkable energy, which prove that he would thoroughly know those whom he employed.

The favours which sovereigns are desirous of from the pope, form a settled correspondence between them and Rome, by which the popes are often considerable gainers, and common popes turn the produce to the profit of their family or favourites: Benedict XIV. being as far from any interested views for his relations, as he had been for himself in his private life, the foreign ministers had no fastening on him, so that at length they bethought themselves of attacking him by his curious fondness for books. France being more in the way of supplying this taste than any other power, spared nothing for its gratification; all the Louvre editions, ancient and modern, le Jai's Polyglot, the Byantine history, the collections of councils, the great works of sacred and profane literature, together with every valuable

production of French typography, were sent to Rome by loads, and in the neatest and most curious bindings. The pope received them with transport, and after entertaining himself with them for a few months, sent them away to Bologna. Whether no exact account was kept in France of the invoices, and the particulars of each, or whether the interest of booksellers had a hand in the mistake; the same books were sometimes sent twice, so that the Institute's library has duplicates of several of the most valuable. The example of France was followed by other powers; England itself joined in this contribution, which all terminated in the advantage of the Institute. Benedict XIV. farther left to it, at his death, his whole remainder of books, observations, and collections.

Before the foundation of the Institute, Bologna had a library in the public palace, which has since been added to that of the Institute, where now is seen a treasure, particularly adapted to it. This treasure is a complete collection, in near two hundred large folios, of all the famous Aldrovandi's works relating to Natural History; it consists of coloured designs of fossils, plants, and animals, performed by the best draughtsmen of the kind, and under the inspection of Aldrovandi himself, who has added particular descriptions and remarks. What estimate can be made of a treasure of this nature, when all other tastes shall be lost in that for Natural History!

A traveller must be blind to omit seeing at Bologna the tower *de gli Asinelli*, and the famous *Garisenda*, which, however, is nothing comparable

able to the tower of Pisa. These brick towers are very common in the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany; having been domestic citadels, which, in the times of anarchy, were equally necessary both to the peaceable and the turbulent citizens. If there be any thing remarkable in them, it is the quality of the mortar or cement. Bricks are the most common materials in Italy for all kinds of edifices; the largest churches, the greatest palaces are brick; stone, like marble, being no farther made use of than as facings. The French builders seem not to make sufficient use of this succedaneum in places where stone is scarce, which would be the more convenient for them, as wood for burning bricks is much more plentiful in France than in Italy.

An edifice at Bologna, of a very singular nature indeed, is the gallery or covered portico, closed on the north-side but open southward, and leading to the Madonna di S. Luca at the distance of a French league. At my first view of this gallery, I took it to be a *gymnasium* or place for public exercises of the body, built by the advice of the College of Physicians, that the Bolognese might, in any weather, enjoy the exercise of walking, which is the more requisite to their health, as living in a gross and heavy air. When I was afterwards informed of the use of this structure, it did not alter my opinion: but I came to be quite of another mind, on finding that the nobility, that is near half the city, never *walk* abroad *per la dignité*, as derogatory to their honour. In the last Italian war, the Germans, the rear of

whose camp for a long time joined to this portico, made use of it to cook their victuals in, by which it was greatly damaged.

We now come to the grand characteristic of Bologna, and which raises it to a level with the principal cities in Italy: I mean the Carracci school; that is the master-pieces of that school, with which the churches, chapels, palaces, private houses, and the very streets of Bologna are filled.

Painting, wantonly departing from the tracks pointed out to it by Raphael and Michael Angelo, had run into bye-paths, following no light but the meteors of caprice, when about the year 1580, Lewis Carracci opened his school: *Lap-
santi pictura suspectus Hercules*, says an Italian. The fundamental element of this school was a strict study of that design, and all those beauties which Titian, Paul Veronese, and chiefly Coreggio had acquired by a happy imitation of nature. Lewis finding in his kinsmen Augustine and Hannibal suitable talents, had brought them to the same scope by the same ways, and this glorious triumvirate were not long in forming pupils worthy of them and their elevated views. Among these pupils Guido, Dominichini, Guerchini, and Albano, are known to all the polite world; Cavedone, Tiarini, Garbieri, and Canuti, are very great, though their reputation is not so universal. The only point in which the three Carracci resembled each other, and the pupils their masters, was such an ease, and natural freedom, that nothing of art and labour was discernable in their compositions (a). Exempt from that slavery

(a) *Ars illa summa est, ne ars esse videatur*, Quintil, L. 1. Cap. 12.

to which ordinary masters confine their disciples, every one was left to the bent of his own genius; and it is to them especially that may be applied, what Cicero said of the most celebrated Grecian painters: *Omnes inter se dissimiles fuerunt, sed ita tamen ut neminem sui velis esse dissimilem* *. The different manners which each of these painters gave into, have divided tastes and opinions concerning their degree in the scale of merit. Rome and Bologna by no means agree on this head: Rome prefers Hannibal Carrachi to Lewis, and Guido to Dominichini. Bologna, though unanimous in crying up Lewis above Hannibal, and Dominichini above Guido, is itself divided between Guido and Albano; but it is sufficient for the glory of these great masters, that all who have eyes, join in admiring them.

I shall not enter into a detail of such of their works as are seen at Bologna; it takes up a volume of four hundred pages, which is sold in this city. Here also are to be had the Lives of all the painters of Bologna, in several quarto volumes. I have not perused them, but, for the reader's sake, I hope the authors have avoided that turgescency which prevails in the title of their works. This which I took casually, may serve for a sample. *Nel intrar in chiesa (del Corpus Domini) in un subito, ingombra tutta l'ammirazione del Passagiere, la vaghezza del maestoso dipinto che orna tutte le di lei sacre mura, rappresentando vivamente le gesta e la virtù della nostra Santa Heroïna (Santa Caterina di Bologna).* i. e. "On the traveller's entering the

* *De orat. Lib. 3. init.*

church (of Corpus Domini) his whole astonishment is confounded by the beauty of the majestic paintings which adorn all its sacred walls, in a lively representation of the actions and virtues of our holy heroine St. Catharine of Bologna."

Among this crowd of master-pieces, I was more particularly taken with some, for reasons which I am going to relate.

1st. A St. Peter weeping, by Guido, at the Zampieri palace. Of all the paintings I ever saw, never was I so much struck with any as this. St. Peter, whom an apostle is comforting, is as big as life. It is impossible for the pencil to exceed this deception. The Greeks must certainly have had very great masters in this kind, if what Pliny said of one of their pictures be as true as it is of this: *caput, crus & pedes eminent, & extra tabulam videntur.*

2dly. By the same master, in the church de' Mendicanti, Job replaced on the throne: a picture, perhaps, inferior in the eyes of the great connoisseurs to that of the chief altar, by the same hand; but I should prefer the former. Amidst a multitude of people offering presents to Job on his restoration, the painter has with inimitable delicacy hit on, and with all possible justness expressed, the different gradations of emotion, which the difference of age, rank, and condition, could respectively excite among all those persons. This singular subject, and which no other painter has handled, was unquestionably an allegory in which Guido might have in his eye Frederic V. elector palatine,

palatine, chosen king of Bohemia in 1619, and in 1620 put under the ban of the empire. Had this prince actually ascended the throne to which he had been called, he would have met with his history in this picture, and unquestionably have rewarded the artist like a king. I must leave to those who are better acquainted with the particulars of the history of painters, the care of verifying this conjecture, by comparing the dates which I have specified, with that which they may assign to this masterly performance.

3dly. In the same church is a St. Joseph by Tiarini, and angels bringing him back at the feet of the virgin, with whom he expostulates concerning her pregnancy. Some neighbours of both sexes, present at this expostulation, form an accessory, taken from common life, and handled with a suitable simplicity, not in the least derogatory to the dignity of the principal subject.

4thly. Among the master-pieces of the Carra-chi and their school, of which the monastery of St. Michael in Bosco is full, I could not but admire the paintings of the library. Each faculty, which, in the libraries, is usually indicated by an inscription, is there denoted by two persons who have excelled in that faculty, and who, lying on the two cornices of a feigned pediment, confer together, either warmly or quietly, smartly or dully, according to the character of their works, and the nature of the faculty which they denote. For instance, on the pediment over scholastic philosophy, the painter has represented the *Angelic Doctor* disputing with the *Subtile Doctor*, on the universal *a parte rei*: this piece, by its fire and

and force of expression, makes the spectator, as it were, present at the dispute of Panurgus against Taumastes the Englishman, who argued by gestures *. These figures, which are as big as life, were performed by Canuti, who unquestionably had the first ideas of each groupe, from the abbé Pepoli, to whose care the library owes this ingenious embellishment.

5thly. A Hercules in Fresco in a saloon of Grassi-palace. Lewis Carrachi had painted it on a wall of his house, from whence it has been removed, together with a part of the wall, to the place where it now stands. This figure alone, which is of a colossal size, gives the highest idea of the artist's talents. Time, and perhaps the new cement to which it was fixed, has a little degraded the colouring.

The Madonnas, in most of the voids left by the unequal elevation of the porticos along the streets, are generally done by the best hands. Bologna is the only place where such valuable pieces are seen in the streets.

The profusion of paintings in this city, made me curious to know what price the Carrachi and their pupils used to put on their performances; and I find it next kin to nothing when compared to what they bear at present. I shall only tell you, as one instance, that for the martyrdom of St. Agnes, a picture of equal dimensions to those of Mai in Notre Dame at Paris, and one of the prime paintings in Italy, Dominichini only received forty sequins, that is about four hundred and fifty livres, according to the present currency,

All these great painters, working from inclination, placed their whole ambition in the perfection of their art, and the judgment of posterity. Guido is the only one whose happiness it was to enjoy his reputation, on which he raised, almost unknowingly, a fortune, which he did not keep: he had made a vast progress in his career, in having early entered on it; he had an amazing ease and readiness, which in his latter days he unhappily abused; and the fortune he accumulated he owed to the homage paid by foreigners and sovereigns to his admired talents. The vexations, enmities, and crosses which embittered the life of these famous men, and actually shortened the days of most of them, are facts corroborating the many instances, that eminent genius and reputation so far from being productive of happiness, very often prove a misfortune. The Carrachi might have lived very happy as taylor, in which profession Lewis was born, and from which he drew away Hannibal and Augustine; but then their names would never have been heard of.

In the last century, Bologna had a man of that calling, who was particularly famous for his knowledge in painting and immediate discernment of the capital merit of pictures, and the different styles of schools and masters. This taylor was likewise a mighty politician, and his shop the office of intelligence for all the news which the court of Versailles would have spread over Italy: as a connoisseur in pictures and a politician, Lewis XIV. allowed him a pension, and such was his zeal for that prince and his affairs, that he actually died by the shock which seized him,

on the news of the battle of Ramelies or Hochstet.

The Bologna school has subsisted down to the present time with great honour. Carlo Cignani, who was brought up by Albano, and surpassed his master, lived and handled his pencil till 1719. M. Smith, the English consul at Venice, made a collection of this artist's original designs, and had them engraved under his own eye by John Michael Liotard of Geneva, adding a description of them with explanations, of which, however, some particulars relating to Cignani's life are the best part. This description came out at Venice in 1749.

In what condition the Carrachi found painting at Bologna, appears by the names which Leandro Alberti has left us of the Bolognese who had distinguished themselves there, till the time in which he wrote, that is about the middle of the 16th century. This list mentions only five or six artists, of whose talents scarce any monuments are now existing, being lost in the multitude of superior performances.

Bologna has an idiom or jargon particular to itself, and the common Italian is there spoken so very uncouthly, that Italians themselves can scarce make any thing of it. In the poem of the Secchia Rapita, are many instances of this jargon and disagreeable pronunciation, for which the *doctors* of the Italian strollers are noted. The late pope himself had not got over it, and particularly when in a heat. During the difference with Venice, which warmly interested him, at an audience with M. Capello, the Venetian ambassador, this

this gentleman frequently interrupted him, both by objections and contrary relations of facts. The pope, little used to such interruptions, said in an angry manner, I suppose you have sometimes been at a play? and what's that to the purpose? bluntly answered M. Capello; that is, replied the pope, you ought to have observed there, *che quando parla il Dottore, tace il Pantalone*, i. e. on the doctor's speaking, Pantaloon (a) holds his tongue.

The informations I got at Bologna are chiefly owing to the marquis Grassi, and the abbé Monti's regard to the recommendations I brought them: the marquis, one of the leading men in the council of Bologna, is taken up with well digested schemes for remedying the decay of the trade of his country, by reviving the ancient and introducing new manufactures. Here plenty of the first materials, as it were, invites industry; and what might not be compassed by this industry, if employed on silk and hemp, of which Bologna affords such abundance, yet exports it to the very great emolument of more industrious foreigners? But the papal government and its attendant, continual peace, seem to have thrown Bologna into a torpid insensibility, from which it was so very different in those tumultuous ages, of which I have given a slight sketch in the beginning of this article.

The bustle in which we found the Bologna traders getting ready for Sinigaglia fair, made us curious to see it, especially as it was pretty nearly in our way. The distance between Bologna and Sinigaglia is twelve post stages, but almost double

(a) Theatrical name for a Venetian buffoon.

those of France, as are all the Italian stages beyond Milan. We made quick work of this journey, in which, at every stage, you come to a city; thus successively passing through Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Pezaro, Fano, and Sinigaglia, crossing almost at the half way the famous river Rubicon.

R O M A N I A.

The above towns make the most considerable and wealthy part of Romania. Our short stay would not allow us a very particular survey of their beauties, of which they are not quite bare; but, short as it was, we were heartily tired of those slothful insolent set of scoundrels, strutting with swords by their sides along the streets, especially in the first four cities.

Both the Romanese and the people along the Po are of one common origin with the modern French, being the descendants of those Gauls who followed Brennus above two thousand years ago. The part of Italy confining on the Adriatic sea, took the names of those provinces of Gaul from whence these people came, whether because they settled apart as provincial bodies, or whether they were united only fortuitously, and the resemblance of the countries and sites gave rise to those appellations. Thus Bologna became the capital of a new Berry (*a*): One part of Umbria took the name of Senones; the countries near the mouth of the Po, that of the people who had left the mouth of the Loire; and these last had for neighbours new Manceaux (*b*).

(*a*) Boü.

(*b*) Cenomani.

To go about tracing any vestiges of a common origin between the Gauls settled in Italy, and the modern French, would be lost labour: it being now many ages since all resemblance either in manners, customs, or sentiment, has been worn out.

Never did they so differ as in the party for which one and the other declared in a matter of the utmost importance and in like circumstances. The decay of the imperial prerogative under the descendants of Charlemain roused the Gauls, now become Lombards and Romanese, to recover a liberty which they maintained for the space of three centuries, less indeed by open force, than the suppleness of an ever intriguing policy. The Venetians immediately availed themselves of the anarchy to secure the foundations of their government. The Lombards and Romanese, being pressed by that power, and by the popes, who left no stone unturned to make themselves potentates, and being farther harrassed, from time to time, by the emperors coming sword in hand to renew their claims, which had grown obsolete; their only shift was, to give themselves up alternately, according to the times, to one or other of those powers, who however treated them with the considerations due to new conquests. But no sooner did the yoke begin to make itself felt, than they shook it off. The boldest strokes often decided these revolutions, by means of which these Gauls recovered their independency; but such intervals only served the turn of petty tyrants, either foreign or natives, and they were driven out or made away with, either on suspi-
cion

cion or mere humour. In a word, till Julius II. who laid on these turbulent people a yoke which they have not yet thought of throwing off, they found means to preserve a liberty, which they were every instant in danger of losing. The love of independency has survived their liberty, and for its last security has made choice of indolence. Thus under that anarchy, which we know only from wretched accounts (a), the state of Lombardy and Romania was the same as that of Greece, under those shining æras immortalized by Herodotus and Thucydides

Vixere fortes post Agamemnona

Multi : sed omnes illacrymabiles

Urgentur, ignatique longâ

Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

The condition of France to which we must return, was very different under that same anarchy, introduced by the weakness into which the regal authority fell under Charlemain's descendants. Whilst usurpers were setting up a new form of government on the ruins of that authority, the love, nay the very notion of liberty was wearing away among the people, who seemed to prefer a quiet slavery to a liberty ever in arms. The new masters of the several provinces found in the Frenchman, now under villenage, a compliance and submission the more wonderful, as that brave peo-

(a) It is unquestionably from these annals that the arch rogue Rabelais, as Brantome calls him, has forged his *Poltronismus rerum Italicarum*, which is in St. Victor's library.

ple quietly restrained their courage, except when the advantage of their masters called for its exertion.

Whether was this people or that of Lombardy and Romania the happier at that time? a very nice question, the decision of which will be more certainly come at, by a knowledge of the peculiar temper and disposition of each of these people, than by any moral or political speculations.

The towns, in our passage from Bologna to Sinigaglia, are well built and without porticos: in some of the churches we saw very good paintings; they have likewise elegant palaces with squares and fountains. Romania has even had a painting-school to itself; and for its head counts a Barocci, whose compositions are not at all inferior to those of the great masters of Lombardy. This school is still subsisting in a painter settled at Fano, and whose talents, being without employment in his own country, have happily found a generous patron in the Marckgrave of Bareith, who, without troubling him to remove, has made him his with a pension. This painter is to work for Germany, Italy being already too full of the performances of ancient masters to think of encouraging living talents.

All we saw at Imola, Faenza, Forli, and Cesena (*a*), was the cathedral of Forli, its cupola, painted by Cignani, and the vice-president of that city, to whom we applied for justice against the postillion who had brought us from Faenza. His

(*a*) Rimini, Pezaro, and Fano, we saw more at leisure, passing through them again both in our way from Sinigaglia to Venice, and in our return from Venice to Rome.

excellency, who was in his waistcoat and a browit linen cap, was then at work in his closet about a piece of black glossy linen, for a summer's waistcoat, and he did not leave off for our coming. At length, after a very long delay, vouchsafing to hear us, he cut short the dispute with a *mezzo termine*, by which part of the postillion's *buonamancia*, or fee, went into his people's pockets.

R I M I N I.

After passing the Rubicon which the Pizatello and another small river claim the honour of representing, we arrived at Rimini over a bridge, all built of blocks of the finest white marble. The inscription, still intire, attributes it to Augustus and Tiberius. This bridge, equally worthy of notice for its strength and fine preservation, is the most intire monument of the Augustan age. Time, which disfigures and destroys the monuments of mere ostentation erected in honour of the *Casa divina*, seems to have spared this in regard to its design and usefulness. It consists of three complete arches, and on proportions recommended by Palladio as models. On each key-stone is a symbol of the priesthood or augurate. The *Lituns*, seen there in great, is absolutely the very same thing as the crozier of the modern Roman catholic bishops. Rimini had also a harbour, lined by Augustus with the like magnificence, but becoming useless by the withdrawing of the sea, it was demolished about the middle of the 15th century: Pandolphus Malatesta made use of the materials for building St. Francis's church, in

in which it must be owned architecture has displayed whatever it was capable of before the revival of the fine arts.

Rimini cathedral, which was built on the foundations of a temple of Castor and Pollox, is dedicated to St. Columba, to whom Sens in France gave birth, and where she likewise died. I could get no information on what account the ancient inhabitants of Rimini chose this saint for their patroness: as to examining whether this choice was a consequence of the continuation of a fraternity between the Senonese of France and those of Romania, till the first ages of the christian era, that I refer to others.

On leaving Rimini you pass under a triumphal arch, raised in honour of Augustus, after a thorough repair of the great roads in Italy, all which centered at Rimini, where, if I mistake not, began the *Via triumphalis*. This arch being much sunk and flattened by time, bears no farther likeness to the bridge than in its being of white marble (a).

L A C A T O L I C A.

On the road from Rimini to Pezaro, lies La Catolica, a village whose small church, still in being, is famous as the shelter of those bishops, who, separating from the famous council of Rimini, held a meeting in it to protest against the decisions of that council. If the country people

(a) It is known by these proportions, in the medal struck in honour of Augustus, on the repair of the *Via Flaminia*, with this inscription, QUOD VIA MUN. SUNT.

in Romania may be judged of by those who received us in a cottage of this village, and their neighbours who flocked to see us, the rustics here certainly differ from the towns people more than in any other country. In these good folks, almost all fishermen, we found a candour, openness, and morals which amazed us, and the more, as a total disinterestedness was among their good qualities. They assured us that the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains were to the full as good as themselves; that they had, one and all, rather die than be like the people in the towns on the great road, whom they call *canaglia maledetta*, an abandoned breed; in a word, that if there be any truly good people in the world, the territory of St. Marino is the place where they are to be found.

From the hill, on the summit of which stands La Catolica, we were shewn the place where once stood a city now covered with the sea, which gained there what it lost in receding from Rimini.

SAN MARINO.

The road from La Catolica to Pezaro skirts the territories of this small republic, concerning the government of which we referred ourselves to the description given of it by Mr. Addison, who went in person to get a thorough knowledge of it. This little state was on the point of losing its liberty, by cardinal Alberoni's enterprise against it, during his legation in Romania*.

* About 1750.

nagement and execution of this project would do honour to the cardinal's bravery, had it been against a people, whom a slender regard to the Roman purple would not have restrained from offering at a defence. The cardinal's red vestment, and a *Te Deum*, in which he was seized with a panic, gave a sanction to this enterprize: Benedict XIV. disowned it, yet he kept the original charters of this republic, the cardinal having purloined them; and they were lodged in the Vatican *Archivio*.

I knew at Rome a petty Curial, or limb of the law, born at St. Marino, who had sacrificed his small fortune purely to recover the most essential of those charters, which accordingly he had got safely conveyed back among the records of his country. I likewise frequently saw at Rome, among the Minims of *la Trinità di monte*, another member of the same republic, the very counter-part of Rabelais's Parnurgus, a complete master of the Latin and Greek, and even of the vulgar Greek; well versed in geometry, chymistry, and especially botany; he had travelled over the greatest part of Asia, even as far as the kingdom of Thibet, always footing it, and without equipage or so much as money. He lived at Rome from hand to mouth, placing all happiness in liberty and cheerfulness, which he looked upon as incompatible with dependance. The first time I saw him was in the laboratory of *la Trinità di monte*, where, with all the vehemence of pulpit elocution, he was holding forth, facing the apothecary of the convent, who, according to the constitution of those places, was one of the society,

on miracles and conversions, the marvellous of which increasing in a climax, at length set the pious brother a weeping and sobbing most cordially. In the opinion of this odd creature, the world afforded nothing comparable to ancient Rome, except his dear republic of St. Marino: it was indeed the only thing he could speak of with any seriousness. He proposed, after a few more perambulations, to go and end his days in his Ithaca, and devote his abilities and discoveries in promoting its happiness.

P E Z A R O.

This city was the most delightful part of the duchy of Urbino: Julius II. dismembered this little territory from his conquests in Romania, to make a fief of it for his family; it was, at that time, ten leagues in length and five in breadth, of which the Adriatic was the base. By the extinction of Julius's family (*a*), this duchy in 1630 devolved again to the holy see. In that brilliant age, which the Italians distinguish by the name of the *cinque cento*, the court of Urbino was one of the principal ornaments of Italy. A genius, an artist, a gentleman, was sure of being welcome every where, after the happiness of having pleased a court, whose esteem was the standard of reputation in every kind. Count Balthazar Castiglione's *Cortigiano* (*b*), i. e. courtier, gives us the

(*a*) *La Rovere*.

(*b*) This work, too little known in France, where Lewis XII. and Francis I. encouraged the author to go on with it, contains the most pure principles of morality and policy, enlivened with all the elegance and facetiousness of the court of Urbino.

code of its gallantry at that time. A delicate taste for arts and sciences, a well digested knowledge of the world in general, and of both sexes, cheerfulness, decent jocularity, and all the graces arising from refined urbanity, constituted the characteristic of that shining court, which used to spend the winter at Pezaro, in elegant palaces, of which little more than melancholy remains are now to be seen.

This city appeared to me almost as large as Rimini, but better built, and more populous; it had a bad character in ancient times, from the malignance of its air in summer. Catullus used to call it *moribundam sedem*; but its present inhabitants say, that the draining of the neighbouring marshes has long since removed that distemperature. Its figs keep up their former reputation; they are certainly the best in this part of Italy.

The churches in Pezaro have some pieces by Paul Veronese and Guido, with several by Barrocci, who was contemporary with the former, prior to the latter, and inferior to neither in colouring and graces. Guido has not a single grace which is not to be found again in Barrocci's *Annunciation* in the cathedral of Pezaro, and in his *Circumcision*, the chief ornament of another church in the same city. The calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew, in a very pretty small church, adds the force of expression and the brilliancy of execution to all the graces the subject would admit, and these heightened by tints which time seems to renew and improve. We were told that this painter used to take his angels and virgins from a brother and sister, who, if art has

not added to nature, were celestial beauties indeed.

I spent an evening here at the coffee-house, where the company consisted of elderly nobles of this country, talking about foreign news; the alliance lately struck up between France and Austria was a long topic for their political talents. A very old commander of an order, next to whom I happened to sit, and who had quietly listened to the whole, asked me whether I had ever seen any thing of France; and on my answering in the affirmative, whether Quebec was not near Bourdeaux, as he imagined? without trying whether he was in jest or earnest: I replied, that Quebec had lain out of my way, but since he imagined it to be in France it certainly must.

The antiquities of Pezaro were some years ago engraved with explanations, by one of its inhabitants, and make a folio intitled *Marmora Pisarenfis*; it is very well printed, and at Pezaro.

The road through Pezaro and Fano, from Rimini to Sinigaglia, is very pleasant and easy along the shore, one wheel in the sea and the other on the sand, which the water consolidates as it wets it. The shore is bordered by steep rocks, against which, in tempestuous weather, the sea beats; and it being such at our departure from Pezaro, we could not keep along the shore. On our returning into the *Via Flaminia*, we passed through a very unequal, fruitful, and well cultivated country; and which, in our progress, presented us with a continued variety of most delightful landscapes.

F A N O.

F A N O.

This city likewise belonged to the duchy of Urbino: its present name is a remainder of that of *fanum fortunæ* given it by the Romans. In many respects it resembles Pezaro, but is more populous, and has what Pezaro wants, one of the finest opera theatres in Italy. Its churches abound in pictures by the greatest masters of the Bologna school. St. Joseph's marriage, in the first chapel on the right-hand in coming into the cathedral, pleased me beyond any I ever saw of Guerchini. The composition is quite simple, *nihil habere ex ingenio videtur*; but such sublimity, and such grandeur in this simplicity! the principal subject consists of the high-priest, the Virgin and St. Joseph. It was unquestionably to make it more projecting, that the painter has introduced in the deepening, some mean persons spitefully leering at the ceremony. In the same church is a chapel decorated with small pictures of Dominichini, representing the mysteries of the Rosary. But these pieces, no more than one of Guido's in this cathedral, did not take with me any thing like that of Guerchini.

In the church of the Phillipini, or fathers of the oratory, built about the middle of the last century by a man of wealth, who had taken the habit of the oratory, is a most valuable collection of paintings, collected by the founder; a printed list of them is given. There are several by Guido, but part of them scarce to be known, having been disfigured by a dauber, who was employed to clean

clean them, and who, after scraping them, put the finishing hand to spoiling them by his presumptuous retouches. That of the great altar, being less exposed to moisture than the others, luckily did not stand in need of repair, and thus escaped the general ravage. It is a capital composition, of the same labour and value as the greatest pieces of that master to be seen at Bologna. There is likewise another very well preserved in the false window on the left.

The sight of all the beauties and curiosities in Pezaro I owed to the politeness of a friendly priest, whom I accidentally fell in with at the cathedral. He carried me every where, and informed me of every thing in the most obliging manner; he even insisted on treating me at the coffee-house. I found by his conversation which entirely corresponded with this uncommon courtesy, that he was *geniale Francese*, a hearty Frenchman. For in all the cities of Italy and the very villages, the European powers have very warm sticklers, who are generally such from father to son, and downright hate those of a contrary party. The ancient regard of these people for martial achievements still animates them, so that Lewis XIV. by the greatness of his projects and the rapidity of his conquests was become the universal favourite among them.

The quarrels of these different parties are to Italy, as the religious quarrels in France, England, and Germany. An Italian in the French interest detests the English and their partizans, as

as heartily as a good French Molinist detests Port-Royal and the Jansenists, and *vice versa*. These parties however have been put to a kind of nonplus, by the unforeseen alliance between Austria and France; yet has it not yet reconciled the *geniali* of those two powers, most of them retaining their former affections. In the present war, enthusiasm has formed a considerable party for the king of Prussia; in short, the wars of the European princes are to the Italians pretty nearly what the shews of gladiators were among the Romans. They amuse the people's idleness; and the sovereigns foment these parties, as diverting their attention from objects which more nearly concern them, according to the maxim, *divide & impera*. See the article of Ravenna in the sequel.

Fano has likewise a triumphal arch of white marble, erected to Augustus. It was thirty cubits high, but is now half ruined by the artillery of Paul II. in the siege which Fano sustained against that pontiff in 1463. Some very uncertain ruins are shewn as remains of that temple of fortune, from which the city received its name.

At the space of a league from Fano, the Flaminian way crosses the *Metaurus*, now the *Meta*, in the very spot where Asdrubal was whistled by the Romans.

*Testis Metaurum flumen & Asdrubal
Devictus.*

This River had little or no water, though we crossed it at its entrance into the sea. The pompous

pous Silius Italicus has dedicated to it this inflated verse.

Rapidasque sonanti

Vortice contorquens undas & saxa Metaurus.

Let us now cast an eye on the present state of trade, in that part of Romania which we have travelled over.

Of the first four cities between Bologna and the Rubicon, Forli is the only one whose inhabitants have any inclination for work: their chief business is wax, linen, and umbrells, with which they supply the far greater part of Italy. At Sinigaglia fair we saw a dealer, who alone disposes of at least three thousand umbrells every fair. Faenza, as if satisfied with the honour of having given name to the finer sort of earthen ware, makes at present but very little, and that likewise very bad.

The manufactures of Rimini and Pezaro scarce suffice for home consumption; they were relinquished to the English, for the advancement of another kind of domestic industry. The silk, which is still gathered in the duchy of Urbino *, and in the upper part of Romania, is bought up by the traders of these two cities, who for this purpose have entered into terms with the English, in which Italian subtilty seems to have forgot itself. They remit these silks to England, and the ensuing year the English bring them in return stuffs of their manufactures, such as mohairs and silk and cotton stuffs, with a profit for the workmanship; and all, according to the conscience

* See the observations on the Milanese trade.

science of the English, who thus get both silk and money from Romania. The Romanese dealers perhaps may find a present profit in this measure, but it can proceed only from the very low price of the raw silks, which are brought to their warehouses; in the mean time the cultivator, disheartened by this reduction of price, makes his mulberry-trees give place to others of more profit, *feliciores conserit arbores*. The silk harvests diminish daily, and thus in time Romania will be deprived of a branch of employment, which, should industry, by any unexpected vicissitude happen to revive here, it will bitterly lament. The Lyons traders, who call these silks *soies d' Outre-mer*, beyond-sea silks, and who are fully acquainted with their goodness, may worm the English out of this trade, or at least come in for a share: but the Romanese say, that they have very good reason for dealing with them only for ready money.

Fano has rejected the proposals of the English, making use at home of a great part of its silks, in a narrow stuff called *ferendine*, which is commonly well manufactured, and makes very creditable and likewise very serviceable linings; the French, I believe, have some notion of it.

The fairs are the chief object of the active commerce of all these cities; their consumption trade is for the greater part carried on by Jews, who find the sweets of it. In this trade England furnishes its woollens, and the Swiss their linens, the sale of which enables them to purchase the Venetian cottons. The French manufactures are absolutely

absolutely unknown, and of course make no part of this commerce.

SINIGAGLIA.

Sinigaglia has retained the name of the Senonese, settled in this part of ancient Umbria. *Senonum de nomine Senon*, says *Silius Italicus*. It belonged to the dukes of Urbino, who had sheltered it from the insults of Turks and pirates by some fortifications still subsisting. In 1758 its circuit was enlarging, in order to which its works on the west side were raised, and new ramparts built like the former, which the labour of pulling them down shewed to be of a very strong construction.

The enlargement of this city, on account of the vast concourse of people at the fair time, and the foreigners, whom the great business done at this fair might induce to settle here, had long been necessary, so that we must suppose there were some political reasons against it.* The difference between Pope Benedict and Venice having diminished the weight of these reasons, the apostolic chamber made choice of that juncture to take the works in hand, and very briskly were they carrying on under Monsignor Merlini president of Urbino, who had signalized himself by an expedition against the smugglers; an expedition which had determined Pope Benedict to suppress the farming of tobacco in his dominions, and bring this article again into the common course of trade.

* See the article of Venice,

The air of this city, however, cannot boast of more salubrity than that of all this coast of the Adriatic. Boccace speaking of a young woman, *che non mai era senza mal d'occhi, con un color verde e giallo*, adds *che pareva che non à Fiesole ma à Sinigaglia haveffe fatta la state*. Nov. 4, giorn. 8. i. e.

“Who was continually troubled with sore eyes, and her complexion green and yellow,” adds, “that she looked as if she had spent the summer at Sinigaglia and not at Fiesole.”

Sinigaglia affords nothing remarkable either in its public or private edifices. We indeed saw some paintings by Barrocci, and, in a small church in the high street, a picture quite new, which struck us extremely, by the exact resemblance of St. Charles, the person it represented, to a French prelate, whom we had heard preach at Paris before the assembly of the clergy.

We reached Sinigaglia time enough for the opening of the fair, which holds the eight last days of July. The shore, along which we had come from Fano, was lined with culverines, cannon, loop-holes, old arquebuses, all pointed towards the sea; likewise with parties of soldiers in barracks at regular distances, besides some ships of the pope lying in the offing. In short, nothing had the apostolic chamber omitted for the safety of the fair.

Mr. Merlini was there in person, and kept open house for the neighbouring nobility. All this nobility, men, women and children, for whom this fair is a party of pleasure, throws a pleasing variety and a kind of tranquillity amidst the perpetual bustle of crowds of people of all nations, eagerly looking

looking out for one another, or hurried in removing goods from the harbour or road to the city, from the city to the harbour or road ; in unpacking or packing up, in embarking or landing : not a single beast of carriage or draught is made use of for this business ; the whole is done by *fachini*, or porters, who, with equal dexterity and strength, carry the greatest burdens whether in weight or bulk. This sight puts one in mind of a fire, with multitudes got together, some quenching the flames and others clearing the houses. The streets are all shaded by tents hung across, and wetted from time to time ; and, for the convenience of carriage, the ground is boarded. Palaces, houses, the whole city is a warehouse ; the harbour, the quays, the streets are one continued shop, and, in the midst of them, a thousand little ambulatory shops moving backwards and forwards. What sweating the heat of the dog-days, amidst such bustle and such a crowd, and in such a climate, must occasion, may easily be imagined. The ditches, the glacis, and the outworks of the city are covered with tents, huts, kitchens, and horses standing at pickets ; and in every little cottage are stowed several families. The people of fashion shelter themselves in the coffee-houses, where abbess are always gallanting the ladies, and these tricked up in all their finery in the French mode.

The basis of this fair is formed by the islands and all the coasts of the Adriatic, Sicily, and a part of the Archipelago. The Albanians and Archipelago Greeks bring light jackets, waistcoats, shirts, caps, babouches or large puppets, wax,

wax, honey, &c. An Albanian vessel had a lading of tar in goat-skins, the greater part of which, whether ill made or rotten, burst in bringing them from the harbour to the road; so that this part of the fair was all over tar, and crowded with people scrambling for it.

Nigrion Illyrica tunc pice portus erat.

The Greeks speak Italian, or make use of the *Lingua Franca*: a harsh compound of Greek, Italian, and Provençal, the three smoothest languages now in being. By their air and countenance they appear as good people as one would wish to deal with: every one lay dozing on the pavement, his body being a kind of fence to his little shop, and thus sold away without changing his situation. In all other dealers the national air might be distinguished at first sight. The Lombard, the Swiss, and the Lyonesse, called to every one that passed by to see what they liked, eagerly displayed all his shop, exacted beyond all reason, but very complaisantly thanked the least customer. The Hollander was wholly taken up with the disposition of his shop, placing, and brushing and cleaning every piece. The Romanese and Sicilian, leaning with his belly against his counter, with his hat thrust down to his eyes, and his hands across in the sleeves of the opposite arm, was ruminating on his accounts. The fullen and haughty Englishman shewed what goods were asked him, at the same time naming the price, and, on any appearance of haggling, hastily put them up again, and took t'other turn in his shop.

I saw two Frenchmen there, one an abbe, taken up, like us, with viewing the fair; the other having bought a fillet of a pretty Grecian woman, was for adding to it two small ribbons, and desired her to favour him so far as to sew them to the two ends of the large ribbon. These words were no sooner out of his mouth, than out came, over the Grecian beauty's shoulder, a brawny arm naked to the elbow, holding up to the abbe's nose a fist with the fore-finger erect, and at the same time accompanied with a fierce voice, *Signor no*, from her indignant husband, to whom that ugly arm belonged.

On the third day of the fair the Venetian commander of the Gulph appeared off Sinigaglia in his proper ship, accompanied with some smaller gallies. Every year he makes this appearance, under pretence of protecting the fair, but rather to receive a settled fee paid him by the apostolic chamber, and which by Venice is looked on as an acknowledgment from the pope of its sovereignty over the Gulph. In a pretty keen expostulation about this fee, a pope asking the Venetian ambassador where were the republic's vouchers for the sovereignty of the Gulph; they are to be found, holy father, answered he, on the back of Constantine's grant. Formerly the commander of the Gulph came ashore at Sinigaglia with a numerous retinue, and spent two or three days there, during which the governor was to entertain him as a sovereign. By a new agreement, the governor goes aboard of the commander, and settles with him there: by this agreement every body is a gainer; the Venetians fit out but a very slight squadron, and it

it only shews itself at a distance; and the governor is rid of the incumbrance and expence of entertaining the commander and his train at Sinigaglia. If any are losers it is the mere spectators, this agreement having made a considerable diminution in the variety of the show.

We heard at the fair a smart saying of Benedict XIV. but, to understand it rightly, it must be known that, in Italy, children are still taught their first lessons of politeness in a book of the famous Monsignor de la Casa, intitled, *Il Galatino*; and, by way of reproaching any rudeness, the person is told that he has forgot his *Galatino*. Now Benedict had sent, by a prelate born at Sinigaglia, a set of child-bed linen, on which he had pronounced his benediction, for a new born prince in one of the first courts of Europe. This prelate, whether ignorant of the ceremonial, or from design perhaps suggested to him, had discharged his message without visiting the lord-almoner of that court, the very first person whom he ought to have visited. The almoner complained of such neglect to the king; the king wrote very earnestly about it to his ambassador at Rome; and the ambassador immediately demanded an audience, in which he did not spare the Sinigaglian prelate. Benedict, after using all the reasons which he could think of to excuse or palliate his messenger's blunder, and the ambassador still storming, he said to him, "But, my lord ambassador, be so good as to tell me, is the council of Trent admitted in France?" The ambassador, conceiving the drift of this was to call another cause, and puzzle him about the object of his audience, en-

deavoured to shift it off; but the pope still sticking to the question, the ambassador at length told him, that the council of Trent, as he knew better than himself, was not admitted in France; "Neither, my lord ambassador," returned the pope, "is the *Galatino* at Sinigaglia; *Ne anche a Sinigaglia il Galatino.*" This jest put an end to the difficulty, and the lord almoner, to whom it was reported, quite forgot the Italian prelate's folly, remembring only the witticism which it had occasioned.

PREVIOUS to our returning into Romania, and visiting the western coast of the Adriatic, and those delicious territories which are divided between the pope and the republic of Venice, I shall exhibit a picture of this fine country in the middle age, as drawn by Muratori from contemporary historians and monuments. His accurate account of the culture and population of this part of Italy, in those ages which are but little known, affords a large field for political, moral, and even physical reflections, which I leave to the reader. From this specimen, Muratori's elaborate work on the antiquities of Italy in the middle age may be estimated; an immense work indeed, having produced thirty-four folio volumes and twelve quartos. It has been re-assumed by the author himself in seventy-five dissertations, in which every political, civil and religious custom and usage of those dark times is elucidated. The sequel is an extract, or very free translation of the twenty-first of those learned dissertations.

— Calamities

Calamities of all kinds had laid open Italy to the Lombards, who settled there in 668. Three years before a deadly pestilence, which swept away mankind by thousands, had turned many of the towns and large tracts of the country into deserts. This pestilence had been succeeded by famine: *non erat tunc virtus Romanis (id est Italis) ut possent resistere*, says Paul the deacon, *quia & pestilentia quæ sub Narseto facta est, plurimos in Venetia & Liguria extinxerat; & post annum ubertatis, fames nimia ingruens Italiam vastabat*. The settlement of the Lombards completed these calamities: pillaged churches, murdered ministers, destroyed cities, the massacre of those whom the pestilence and famine had spared, were monuments of this conquest, and of that sanguinary war which decided it. Cleph, the second king of these barbarians, added to those sufferings, putting to death or driving out of his dominions such of the inhabitants at whose power and wealth he took umbrage. These devastations might have been repaired by peace and tranquillity; but, so early as the year 590, the Lombards being at once attacked both by the Constantinopolitan Greeks, who reconquered Modena, Mantua, and Altino, and by the French, who afterwards routed them, shed torrents of Italian blood to maintain their advantages, and, to weaken their enemies, stuck at no means which a blind fury suggested to them. By express order of king Agilulfus, Padua was set on fire and totally laid in ashes: Cremona, Briscello, and other towns underwent the like treatment, only because they continued in obedience to the

emperors their ancient sovereigns: at length, all that remained to those ancient masters of Italy was the country of the duchy of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, Naples, and some maritime towns: and still the Lombards, in revenge for their not being able to add those countries to their conquests, used to commit very terrible inroads on them. Rome itself, Rome, which had so long been mistress of the universe, felt their rage. There is an epigram of the sixth century on the declension of her fortune, in which that retrogradation is represented by this line

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

A line without any apparent sense, but with this odd kind of merit, that the words are the very same in reading it backward.

Such was the appearance of Italy under that revolution which settled the Lombards there; the condition in which the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey had left it, as exaggerated by Lucan, was at that time its real condition *

*Horrida dumetis, multosque inarata per annos
Hesperia est, desuntque manus poscentibus arvis,
Rarus & antiquis habitator in urbibus errat.*

Thus was accomplished Cerealis's prediction in Tacitus, a prediction which, to the misfortune of human nature, continues to be verified in our times. *Pulsis Romanis, nihil aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium video.*—

* Lib. 2.

The air of Italy, and intercourse with the remainder of the conquered people, at length softened the ferocity of the conquerors, peace and tranquility took place in the center of the new kingdom of Italy, and the greatest evils of war fell only on the frontiers. Civilized morals produced good laws, and the citizens were regulated by a wholesome and strict police; in a word, the public safety was so well settled, that the traveller, without any apprehensions or precautions, might carry his purse in his open hand. At first the old and new inhabitants of Lombardy were divided by the Arianism of the Lombards, and an inequality in the imposition of the tributes, till the conversion of the Lombards, and the equal assessment of the imposts, removing all difference between the natives and the foreigners, they coalesced into one people and one state.

The conquest of this kingdom, by the French, fixed its tranquility, promoted population, and introduced all the advantages attending on peace. This happy condition lasted all the time that Charlemain's lineage reigned over Lombardy. The death of Charles the Fat, and the contests of Guy and Berrenger, kindled new disturbances, and these exposed it to the incursions of the Hungarians, who for several years ravaged it at pleasure. These calamities lasted till Otho the Great, the first of the Germans, who added the crown of Lombardy to that of the empire.

To estimate the losses of the human species under all these revolutions, let us take a view of the population of Italy at that time.

The country was very thinly peopled, the mountains and part of the levels being then overrun with forests. The Lombards used to call every wood *Wald*, which the Italians, in public writings, expressed by *Gayum*, *Gazium*, *Gagium*, *Waldum*, *Gualdum*. Ughelli has a record in 774, by which Arrichis, prince of Benevento, gives to the abbey of St. Sophia the church or parish of St. Peter, situated in *Gayo*—the church of St. Abundus likewise standing in *Gayo*—and in another wood, or *Gayo*, a piece of ground two miles in length and one broad. In a diploma of Charlemain, preserved by the same compiler, this prince gives to the church of Regio, *Gayum nostrum quod in Luciaria conjacet & nunc noviter excolitur*. The Lombards had farther brought into Italy the words *foresta*, *Brolium*, or *Broilum*, of the same meaning, unless *brolium* more determinately signified what we now call a *park*. Charlemain in one of his capitularies of 800 says, *Lucos nostros quos Brogilos vulgus appellat*. The French formerly used in the same sense, *Gaye*, *Breüil* and *Brosse*; but *forêt* is the only word retained.

We have still a grant of king Astolphus in 752 to Lopecin, bishop of Modena, of a wood of five hundred acres, *Sylva jugis numero quingentis*, joining on three sides to the woods of a royal demesne, *Gayo Nostro*, and on the fourth to the river Scultenna, the present Panaro. This wood, which appertained to the domaine of the kings of Lombardy, had left its name to a considerable estate, which since was incorporated into the demesne of the city of Modena. Accordingly, by an act of the corporation of that city, in the year

1255, several lands, one of which is called *Gazio*, were ordered to be measured and improved. I make no doubt but the present wood of Nonantola, was a part of the ancient royal *Gayum*.

That these forests are of a very ancient standing, may be inferred from a passage of Sidonius Apollinaris, who, speaking of the Lambro, the Adda, the Adige, the Mincio, and other rivers in Lombardy where he had travelled, says, that the country adjoining to those rivers was covered with forests of oak and maple, *quernis acerisque nemoribus passim vestiebantur*, of which, at present, not the least footstep is remaining.

To the woods with which part of Italy was over-run, must be added the uninhabitable fens along the beds of most of the rivers, and the lakes and shoals among which the Po and the Adige intermixed. Instead of these lakes and fens, we now see fertile and delightful tracts, the happy effect of the works undertaken and executed for reducing and containing these rivers in their bed. Had antiquity left us maps of all these watery places, by comparing them with their present state, an exact estimate might be found of the produce of those works*.

We should find that, under the Roman empire, the *Emilia*, *Platina*, and the whole Venetian territory, were no more than only so many drowned, uncultivated, and uninhabited tracts; and such in the times of Vitruvius†, Strabo‡, and Herodian, were those fruitful countries which now so much delight the eye between Aquileia, Altino, and Ravenna. Strabo adds, that Brescia, Mantua,

* Ep. 5. l. 1. † Vit. l. 1. cap. 14. ‡ Strab. l. 5.
Reggio,

Reggio, and Como, stood amidst fens; and that all the towns of the Venetian territory were entirely furrounded by the sea, like Venice at present, or that they had the sea on one side, and on the other lakes, which in Herodian's time were still navigable from Altino to Ravenna; and thus all the intermediate country, of which Ferrara, then not known, and its rich territory, are now a part, had only frogs for its inhabitants.

These creatures were naturally free of Ravenna, according to the testimonies of Martial;

Meliusque ranæ garriunt Ravennates.

Of Silius Italicus, who delineates the situation of Ravenna in these two lines *.

*Quaque gravi remo limosis segniter undis
Lenta paludosæ proscindunt stagna Ravennæ.*

Lastly, of Sidonius Apollinaris, who rallying his friend Candidianus, then recently arrived in that city, says to him: *te municipalium ranarum loquax turba circumfilit*—*Vide qualis sit civitas quæ facilius territorium potest habere, quàm terram.* Periodical alluvions have in process of time given to this town what it then wanted; a very fat and fruitful soil, a league in extent, now separating it from the sea, which formerly washed it.

Classe near Ravenna, a place of importance in the time of the Romans, whose fleet, for the security of the Adriatic sea, lay there, is two leagues from the sea, which once formed its har-

* Lib. i. Ep. 8.

bour at the mouth of the *Savio*, now turned into another channel by that accretion.

At the same period of time Bologna and Modena suffered extremely, by the standing waters which covered part of their territory, and the rest was all woods, so that a communication with these two cities was doubly dangerous*.

Let us particularly go on with the state of Modena. St. Ambrose, in a letter written about the year 388, imitating the famous passage of Sulpitius's letter to Cicero, says to Faustinus: *de Bononiensi veniens urbe, a tergo Claternam, ipsam Bononiam, Mutinam, Regium derelinquebas: in dextrâ erat Brixillum, à fronte occurrebat Placentia, &c. Te igitur tot semirutarum urbium cadavera terrarumque sub eodem conspectu exposita funera non admonent, &c.*

Such was the state of Italy after the translation of the empire to Constantinople. The subsequent invasion of the Lombards, and their continual wars with the Greeks, of which all the territories near the Exarchate were the theatre, could not better the condition of those desolate countries. Modena, then a frontier of the Lombards, was in time destroyed and forsaken, and the remainder of its distressed inhabitants removed to Citta-Nova, then recently built by king Luitprand, at some distance from it. To this emigration they were forced by the rivers which watered the territories of Modena, and being left to themselves, when, by the misfortunes of the times, the works for confining them within their beds

* V. Galbæ epist. ad Cic. inter. famil. l. 10. & Appian. bel. civil. l. 3.

were no longer kept up, overflowed the country, and rushed into the city to such a degree, that, what with the sand, gravel, and stones, from the Appennine hills, which every inundation lodged there, the ground was raised several fathom.

In the most ancient draughts of donations, sales, and leases, we meet with nothing but woods, fens, ponds, *piscaria*, and lakes (a). To these informations may be added those collected on the same subject by count Sylvestri, *de Nobili di Rovigo*, in the description which he has published *delle paludi Adriache*.

All these shoals and fens thus filling up by degrees, both by the mud which the sea heaped up in those with which it communicated, and by the various substances brought thither by the rivers, in time little islands were seen to rise in the middle of the lakes and fens; and to which inhabitants were invited by the fruitfulness of the soil, the conveniency of fishing, and the safe shelter from incursions of robbers who infested both land and sea: the first dwelling in these islands were only straw huts.

This was for a long time the covering of those houses, which the magnificence of later ages have replaced with palaces. In those times of calamity it was very seldom that houses were covered with tiles, which in the ancient writings are called *Coppi*. *Coppata domus* meant no more than a tiled house, and not, as Du Cange thought, a house of which the roof terminated in a cupola.

(a) Muratori mentions twelve of these maps, and specifies the terms.

Among

Among the monuments of the Ambrosian basilic collected by Puricelli, is one of the year 1201, concerning a *Lobia*, or public portico, which, though adjoining to that very basilic, was covered only with straw; hence those frequent fires in the 11th and 12th centuries, destroying, in a few hours the greatest cities. Under this calamity successively fell Milan, Placentia, Bologna and Modena. A chronicle of Padua inserted among the *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, says, that in 1174, a fire in that city destroyed two thousand six hundred and fourteen houses, *which at that time were built only of wood, and the covering thatch.* In the more remote ages we meet with houses entirely built with straw. Guy bishop of Modena, in 963 gave in copy-hold such a house, *casa pal-liaricia*. In 1105 Milan, since so full of stately edifices, was reduced to ashes. On this terrible conflagration Galvano Fiamma observes *, "that, "at that time, the houses of Milan were not supported and parted by walls, but only by "hurdles and compacted straw, *ex-crastibus & palletis*; that any little fire, in an instant, spread "all over the city, which occasioned an order "against lighting a fire in any house, *flante vento*, "in windy weather." This description, which includes the whole of Milan, perhaps should be reduced to the greater part of it.

As Italy increased in wealth, the straw roofs, mementos of its former poverty, gave way to tiles; and this is expressly enjoined by the statute of Ferrara in 1288, with a fine of twenty sols on delinquents.

* Manip. flor. c. 156.

Let us now return to those new islands, which gradually spreading have formed the territories of Altino, Ravenna, &c. The alluvions, which formed their first connection, were called *dorsi* or *dossi*, *polefini*, *corregii* or *corregie*, no doubt from their long and narrow form resembling straps of leather. In 871 the emperor Lewis II. ratified, in favour of the bishop of Reggio, the donation of the island of Suzaria, with its dependencies, *quæ ab hominibus Pagi vocantur pollicini*. According to the expressions of the abovementioned statute of Ferrara, among other functions of the podestat, he bound himself by oath to take particular care, *quod pollicini divisi aggerentur ita quod per ipsos aggeres quilibet eques & pedes libere possit ire*. The word *Corregio* or *Corrigia*, in the sense here understood, was very ancient in Italy. In the *Scriptores rei agrariæ* it is defined, *mons qui in medio usque ad jugalem permittet*: and this word was added to the name of most of the villages built on those slips or banks, from which the waters had ebbed away. Among many other places, an act of Garfendomius bishop of Mantua, in the year 1180, mentions the following: *Corrigium Gaminetæ, Corrigium Trebatii, Corrigium de Langusculo, scala dividens unum corrigium ab alio. Flumen Arconine & lacus Taurus dividit alia corrigia*. Likewise, among the estates given in 999 by St. Adalaida, the emperor Otho III's grandmother, to the monastery of St. Saviour at Pavia, are *Corrigia in Tengola, Dorsum fraxanariæ, Corrigia Boniventii*. Other *Corrigia* are mentioned in the will of the marquis Almeric in 948. To conclude, in all appearance the town of *Corregio*, which gave birth

to

to the celebrated painter so called, and which, after having been a long time under its own particular lords, now belongs to the house of Este, owes its appellation to such dried prominences on which its first houses were built.

In the reign of Frederick I. the whole territory of Ferrara was intersected, and the greater part of it consisted of impracticable fens. Radevicus, in the history of that emperor, relates under the year 1158, that his forces penetrated to the very walls of Ferrara: "which," adds the historian, "seemed incredible, the marshes, by the reflux of the waters of the Po into them, being to this city an insurmountable fence, from which it insults its neighbours and mocks their menaces." These fens are now no more, and have been superseded by a fertile tract of land, a kind of creation, for which Ferrara is beholden to the works undertaken and executed by the orders and under the inspection of its sovereigns of the house of Este.

The grounds which in other parts of Italy in the like manner superseded the shoals, fens and marshes, with the face of the country have changed the nature of the soil and its products. Modena, for instance, which in Strabo's time was famous for its incomparable wool, has lost that advantage, which however is made up by others. The diggings which, from time to time, become necessary within the circuit of the new city, discover the prodigious elevation of its present site above the former, in the ruins found at a very great depth.

In

In the formation of these new grounds nature received some assistance from art: peace, with the increase of men, increased consumption, wants, necessaries, the cultivation and the worth of lands. From the era of the chief enterprizes of this kind may be dated the commencements of the greatness, opulence and power acquired by the republican cities of Italy. The clearing of grounds came soon to be carried on as vigorously as drainings. A charter of the countess Matilda in 1112 makes mention of a spot in the Ferrarese, *quod nunc extirpatur, & ex parte extirpatum est*; and farther of a *Runcus de Joanne Anastasii*. *Runcus*, derived from the old Latin word *runcare*, is what in old French was called an *Essart*, that is, a wood or part of a forest, newly cleared. Countess Matilda held by lease, from the abbe of Nonantula, a vast forest covering the whole territory of Nogara. On the decease of that princess, the people of Verona fell to hewing it down, in order for cultivation. Innocent II. in a brief of 1136, makes a heavy complaint about this intrusion, which he expresses in these terms directed to the people of Verona: *Quod Nogariensam Sylvam extirpaveretis, eamque vestris usibus excolatis*. In a contract dated 1113, for clearing a forest in the Ferrarese, the undertaker says, *Terram autem illam quam runcabo, frui debeo per annos tres, postea reddam terroticum*; that is, three years possession, clear of all charges, would answer the expences of the clearing.

In an instrument mentioned in the first part of the History of the House of Este, are the words *Xamplis* and *Zamplis*, synonymous with *Ronchus*; indeed

indeed du Cange has, *terra exemplata*, *exemplatio*, *exemplum*, from which *Xemplum* differs only in the want of one letter. These words are undoubtedly derivatives from the Latin *ampliare* or *exempliare*, and from the same source likewise may come the Italian *scempio*. The new arable lands were called *Novalis*, but the more general word was *Roncus*; and it has given name to a great number of places up and down Italy, as *Ranco*, *Ronco vetere*, *Ronchi*, *Roncaglio*, *Roncaglia*, *Ronca*. But none of these places make such a figure in ancient monuments as the *Roncaglia* of Placentia: it was a vast field on the banks of the Po, without a single tree in it; here the princes and barons of Italy held their meetings, and when the German emperors came to take possession of the crown of Lombardy, this place was the scene of the ceremony.

That increase of population, which rendered the clearing of grounds absolutely necessary, was chiefly owing to the exorbitant liberalities of sovereigns towards churches and their courtiers. The profuse grants of lands, villages, castles, and even regalities, to all who solicited for them, made as it were a people of petty sovereigns. Each of these new sovereigns residing in his petty kingdom, was very eager to improve his possessions, to strengthen himself, and draw thither inhabitants, that he might have something of a court and a good number of subjects. These measures however drained the territory belonging to the cities, which now, in their turn, acquiring power and wealth by the advantages arising to population, from agriculture and trade,

began in the 11th century to lift up their heads, and obliged all the neighbouring potentates to submit to their laws, to reside within their walls, and to share in the honour and offices of citizens.

* This was the epocha when servitude, which had so long prevailed in Italy, became extinguished. Under the dominion of the Romans, its whole territory was parcelled out into numberless estates, cultivated by gangs of slaves, who were annexed to the lands, and went along with them in all the changes of proprietors. The invasion of the Barbarians, in breaking the shackles of the greater part of these slaves, did what Christianity had not been able to do. Their masters, being themselves threatened with slavery, set them at liberty for their defence. Others secured themselves by joining the Barbarians, who knew of no other right of servitude than over slaves taken by themselves. Great numbers of slaves however still remained in Italy, under the Lombards and French. They made a considerable part of the possessions of the church itself: it appears from several acts, that abbots and bishops used to let them out to seculars, under whom their condition was alleviated by the hopes of manumission, which it does not appear that the church ever granted, unquestionably on account that these poor creatures went along with the immoveables. And this, together with the lenity of the seculars in granting manumissions, are verified by a law of Pepin, ordering that, should a father by will manumit all his slaves, yet might the daughter and heiress

* Extract from Muratori's 15th Dissertation.

claim and retain one third of them. Manumissions were farther facilitated by the multiplicity of the forms under which the laws allowed of them. The petty sovereignties, set up in the 10th and 11th centuries, were as so many signals calling those, who were groaning in thralldom, to the enjoyment of liberty. These little potentates, being often at war among themselves, and the cities perpetually embroiled with one another, set the slaves of their territories free, in consequence of arming them; and the proximity of all these belligerent powers afforded the slaves, whom their masters were for keeping in slavery, sure and speedy means to shake it off: in a word, the fortified castles, then thick sown in Italy, were to the slaves what formerly the asylum, opened by Romulus, was to the slaves of Latium. The admission of these slaves to the freedom of towns and cities is to be reckoned among the first causes of the prodigious increase of population in Italy.

The towns and cities, being not sufficient for the number of their inhabitants, enlarged their circuit: hence the aggrandizement of Naples, Milan, Florence, Pavia, Verona, Padua, Cremona, Bologna, Ferrara, &c. which only two centuries before were mere desarts. At present every one in these cities, if ever so little acquainted with the antiquities of his country, points out to strangers the successive enlargements of their circuit, and within this circuit many churches, which originally were built without the walls.

Some wise regulations, at the same time, took place for providing dwellings answerable to the multiplication of the country people. The most

ancient statute in being, relative to the city of Modena, directs that "all who had between that city and *Cittanova* possessions *ad minus octo bulcarum*, to build a house on it, and live in the said house, or cause it to be lived in." For facilitating the culture of these possessions, the same statute had nominated a jury of *estimatores* or appraisers; and the proprietor of a considerable parcel of land had the privilege of purchasing, according to their estimate, any little pieces of ground inclosed within his estate.

If we recal our survey to the present state of Italy, it will shew us how extremely population has decreased there: that except Leghorn, and some cities which still enjoy their sovereign's presence, Italy, in the midst of profound peace, is in a way of sinking again into that condition, to which it had been reduced by the beforementioned destructive wars. The overthrow of its manufactures and trades, now possessed by other nations, together with a great part of it being subject to foreign powers, are the chief causes of its depopulation. Yet the Italians will have it to contain at present twenty millions of souls, of which to Venice they assign four millions; to the Milanese two hundred and forty thousand, and to Piedmont two millions; whereas the pope's dominions, by the late account, taken under the inspection of cardinal Valenti, have only eleven hundred thousand.

Luxury being to flourishing states and opulent nations as rust to metals, let us enquire by what means and how far it got footing in Italy during the middle ages; an object so far from
 escaping

escaping Muratori's attention, that he has devoted to it part of his twenty-third dissertation, of which I shall set down some extracts.

The condition of Italy, in this respect, during the centuries preceding the revival of its splendour, may easily be conceived. Its towns and fields being turned into deserts, the distressed inhabitants who had survived the pestilence, famine and the sword of Barbarians, had scarce the immediate necessities of life, and, by the total cessation of trade, were without any means of bettering their condition; besides prudence would not admit of any ostentation which might stimulate the avidity of some savage conqueror.

Ricobaldo, who lived in the 13th century, concludes his history of Ferrara with a picture of the manners of the Italians, or at least of the Ferrarese his countrymen.

"Under Frederic II." says that historian, "the manners, customs, and way of living, were very remote from any appearance of luxury. The men wore on a cap, which they called *majata*, a kind of mitre, with no other ornament than iron scales. The husband and wife eat out of the same dish, as for plates the use of them was not known. A rummer or two served a whole family; their light was a lamp, no candles of any kind having been yet invented. Men wore cloaks of skins or coarse wool, both without any linings. The cap was of the same stuff; as was the women's apparel, even of brides. Little or no gold was to be seen in all their dress. As to food, the commonality eat

" fresh meat only three times a week, their dinner
 " was vegetables drest with that meat, which cold
 " served for supper. It was only some of the
 " most wealthy who drank wine in summer: no-
 " thing but absolute necessaries were kept in ei-
 " ther cellars or lofts. The portions of wives
 " were answerable to the little cost of their main-
 " tenance. The apparel of young women con-
 " sisted of a kind of coarse robe which they cal-
 " led *Soutanne*, and a large flaxen veil called
 " *Xacea*; all the head-dress of married women
 " themselves were some broad ribbons about their
 " temples, and hanging down their cheeks. The
 " object of men's ostentation was their armour and
 " horses. The prime nobility distinguished them-
 " selves by fortifying their houses with towers,
 " the number of which proclaimed to the neigh-
 " bouring country, the grandeur of a city in the
 " multitude of its nobility. At that time a very
 " slender sum of money made a rich man."

Ricobaldo is silent as to the manners of the
 clergy, who, before the times which this histori-
 an had in his eye, differed greatly from the par-
 simony of the laity; at least, if they are to be
 judged by St. Peter Damian's investives. But the
 clergy were rich; for the church had taken care of
 its possessions at the time of the Lombard con-
 quest; and the figure it was obliged to make
 could not be kept up, but by an appearance of
 state and luxury; besides this luxury and state
 might be the more striking from its contrast to the
 wretchedness of the people. However it was, in
 the following manner does St. Peter Damian speak
 of

of the cardinals and bishops in his time *, " They
 " are insatiable in the pursuit of riches, that their
 " tables may be covered with pyramids of meats
 " seasoned with all the spices of India, that wines
 " of every kind may sparkle in their chrystal
 " vessels, that wherever they come, a soft and
 " gorgeous bed may be prepared for them. Then
 " the canopies, the tapestry, and carpets in their
 " apartments !----Such, now a-days, is the tem-
 " perance, self-denial, and simplicity, by which
 " the ministers of the Lord are to be characte-
 " rized.----The kingly purple is too uniform and
 " dull in its colour : even for beds nothing is
 " made use of under variegated stuffs of the most
 " lively and glaring colours. Home linings are
 " too common, lamb-skins too mean ; they must
 " have ermins, fables, and martens, and for no
 " other reason but their being of a price which
 " few can reach. The multitude of vanities e-
 " qually ridiculous and deplorable overwhelms
 " me. I cannot stand the sight of those mitres
 " richer than Tiaras, those horses, the like of
 " which the imperial stables scarce afford ; those
 " rings of enormous gems ; those crossiers covered
 " with gold and jewels. Never did I see at Rome
 " itself any thing of the last kind, which exceed-
 " ed the glitter of the bishops of Ascoli and
 " Trani."

The greatest noblemen displayed their luxury
 only on occasional festivities, as the nuptials of
 their children, or at their instalment as knights ;
 and these extraordinary expences were defrayed by
 a contribution imposed on the vassals and subjects.

* Opusc. 31. cap. 6.

By this observation it is that we must estimate the magnificence of the marriage of countess Matilda's father, a full detail of which the monk Donison has left us in the first canto of his poem on the countess. Besides, the poet's fancy must be thought to have furnished some contributions towards the preparatives and expence of such a superb entertainment.

Thus, from these momentary festivities, nothing can be inferred against Ricobaldo's description. Yet must we not omit the reproaches of a Frenchman to the Italians on their attachments to the delights of the table, in a poem composed about the beginning of the tenth century, in honour of the emperor Beranger.

*Quid inertia bello
Pectora, Ubertus ait, duris prætenditis armis,
O Itali! potius vobis sacra pocula cordi,
Sæpius & stomachum nitidis laxare saginis.*

But what we want is a polished good cheer, cheer refined by luxury, whereas this passage gives us only the homely cheer of Homer's heroes.

The former offers itself to us in John of Salisbury's account of a supper to which he was invited by a rich merchant of Apulia. "The supper lasted till very late at night, and as if Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, could not afford any thing good enough, we were served with all the dainties of Constantinople, Babylon, Alexandria, and Tripoli, &c. If you
" would

"would be more particularly informed about the plenty, the neatness and regularity of the entertainment, and the easy politeness of the master of the house, ask the treasurer of Canterbury, who was likewise one of the company." A merchant at Cadiz could at present give the like supper; but it is not therefore to be inferred, that Spain is a country where much good cheer is in vogue.

But in the 12th century, when John of Salisbury lived, we meet with a memorial of this kind more singular. The canons of St. Ambrose of Milan used, on certain stated days, to go and dine with the abbot and monks, who jointly officiated with them in the Ambrosian Basilic. The abbot was for reducing them, at these meals, to the community's pittance, on which they brought an action against him, insisting that he should cause nine dishes to be served to them in three courses. The first cold fowls, *gambas de vino*, and cold pork: the second, stuffed fowls, beef with a pepper sauce, and meat pies: the third, roasted fowls, fried kidnies and stuffed pigs. The record of this odd dispute, which is to be found among the monuments of the Ambrosian Basilic collected by Puricelli, proves nothing against the laity's parsimonious living, even in the following century.

A continued luxury among the people, and kept up amidst all the misfortunes and calamities of those centuries, is to be found only at Rome. This city had but slightly felt the irruption of the Ostrogoths and Lombards. Whilst the popes

had resided at Rome, their court, with the richness and expence of it, besides other circumstances, caused a plentiful circulation of money, though so scarce every where else; in a word, in those days, as in ours, the Romans were excessively fond of show: in the gratification of that taste which prevailed, and still prevails among the very populace, they grudged nothing.

So early as the year 1108, Pascal II. at the council of Benevento, had prohibited the ecclesiastics wearing lay dresses: *vestimenta secularia & pretiosa*. But the choice of Roman finery was displayed when the unhappy Conradin made his entrance into that city in 1268, on his unfortunate expedition to Naples. "Across the streets
" through which he passed, were stretched ropes
" full of girdles, sashes, large knit purses, gloves,
" mittens, bracelets, rings, collars, bodkins, bod-
" dice, mantelets, cloaks, quilts, counterpanes,
" and bed-curtains hanging to them: the gloss of
" the rich stuffs, fine colours, exquisite embroi-
" deries, and furs of all kinds, was heightened
" by that of the gold, jewels, and pearls, with
" which all those garments, of themselves so cost-
" ly, were enriched."

Saba Malespina, a contemporary historian, mentions this show as something *magnum & auditu mirabile, una cosa stupenda*; but our age, which may be allowed to understand those things better than Malespina, will take the liberty of thinking otherwise.

The gate, by which luxury did effectually make its way into Italy, was Naples. Thousands of

Provençals and French had followed Charles of Anjou to the conquest of that kingdom, and his fortune drew to Naples new swarms of adventurers, who maintained themselves at court, and put in for favours by a lavish parade, of which the chief burden fell on tradesmen. A sparkish and luxuriant court was quite a new sight to all Italy, and an example the more contagious, as the Italians were then growing rich. A journal printed among the *script. rerum Italic.* says, that the Neapolitans were quite in an extasy at the magnificence of the entry of Charles of Anjou, and the queen his consort. "The march was headed by 400 men at arms, French, in gorgeous uniforms, having on helmets with agrets and plumes of feathers; these were followed by a company of Frisons in such liveries that nothing could be richer; then came sixty French lords, with large gold chains about their necks; then appeared the queen in a coach, *caretta*, all sky-blue velvet within and without, and every where embroidered with gold flower de luces: *Tale che,*" adds the author of the journal, "*a vita mia non vidi la piu bella vista,* in my whole life I never saw so fine a sight."

This is the first coach which has occurred to me in the monuments of those ages I have been inquiring into. When Frederic II. came to Padua in 1239, he was met by all the beauties set off in their richest dresses and ornaments*, *Sedentes in phaleratis & ambulantes palafredis*, riding on their palfries richly caparisoned.

* Rolandino. Cron. l. 4. c. 9.

Before we leave the progress of luxury, let us bring to remembrance the description of the preceding times, which Dante puts in the mouth of Caccia Guida, one of his ancestors.

I have seen, says the good old man, "I have
" seen the time, when Florence enjoyed peace both
" at home and abroad. Our women then adorned
" themselves with thriftiness and modesty, instead
" of flaunting with these gold chains, these crowns,
" these girdles, and all those gewgaws, which, if
" admired, draw the looks from those who wear
" them. A father's joy at the birth of a daughter
" was not imbittered with the thoughts of the
" excessive portion to be given her; and the number
" of births was not diminished by any such
" saddening thoughts. I have seen the heads of
" Florence, I have seen Bellincion Berti, walking
" publicly in the streets with a leathern girdle
" fastened by a bone-clasp, and leading his wife,
" who had no such thing as a looking-glass. I
" have seen the Nerlis, I have seen the Vecchios
" in a skin, the lining of which was its wool, and
" their wives at home sewing and spinning."

We perceive the gradation of luxury in the laws animadverting on it. At the council of Lyons in 1274, Gregory X. interdicted to all women throughout Christendom the least excess in apparel, partly by reason of the ruinous expences which were its natural consequence. In the statutes laid down by the republic of Modena, for its own government, 1323, "No chambermaids, waitingmaids, or women of low condition, are to wear trailing gowns or silk ribbons; and women of all ranks are forbid wearing gowns with a tail above a yard

“yard in length, necklaces, bracelets, girdles above the value of fifty sols, and trimmings of gowns exceeding three livres, with a fine on the goldsmith or taylor offending against that ordinance.”

John Villani, in the 13th book of his history, under the year 1342, speaks of the ardour of the young Florentines for laying aside the Roman *toga*, which till that time had been retained at Florence, and introducing in its stead the more graceful and smart, but very complicated and troublesome dress, worn by the French in the retinue of the duke of Athens. It was a kind of cloak, such as players wear in the character of Crispin, and which the Spaniards retained a long time.

An anonymous manuscript of the 14th century, relating to the patrician and plebeian families of Padua, informs us that in that city boys went bare-headed to the age of twenty; Milan kept up this custom for a long time, and the celebrated Locke was for promoting it in England. “At the age of twenty,” continues the manuscript, “they wore either Forli-hats or hoods, or chaperons. Over a slashed and very close coat, they wore a large furtout, the stuff of which cost at least twenty sols per yard: persons of good families took care to distinguish themselves by a great number of well clothed domestics, lightly horses, and fine weapons. On certain festivals the young nobility clubbed for entertainments to their mistresses, and one of them lent his house, where every lover waited on his charmer. These entertainments concluded with dancing and other exercises (*bastiludia*). The country-

"country-seats about Padua perpetually exhibited diversions of one kind or other. On the greater festivals, all the young nobility on horse-back, and divided into troops of two or three hundred each, tried their skill in races, running at the ring or tournaments, which never passed without some mischief. From these galantries, the country of Padua got the name of the *realm of love*." Such was the manner of living at Padua under that Ezelin de Romano, whom Venice stripped of its territories, and whom its historians make the most cruel and merciless of all tyrants. They have forgot to intimate that his remarkable encouragement of these sports might be a branch of what politicians call *arcana tyrannidis*. The women being left to their own wills, employed all their invention in varying modes of dress, and making them more expensive. Of some the abovementioned manuscript gives us a specimen: Falbalas, or furbelows were of the number; at least I perceive them in the girones and crispas of the manuscript. It further tells us, that before Ezelin's reign, the townsmen did not offer to mingle with the entertainments of the nobility, and that by a law, *juvenes filii nobilitum super popularium maxillas quam citius atapas apponerent*; but this law grew obsolete under Ezelin, his encouragement of luxury and spectacles confounding all distinctions.

Francis Pepin, in his chronicle written about the year 1313, to Ricobaldo's account of the manners of the preceding age, opposes the following picture of his times. "Now," says he, "every thing seems running into profligacy and ruin of families;

“ families; sumptuousness has superseded parsimony; in apparel, how great soever the price of the stuffs, it is nothing in comparison of the trimmings, being made up of pearls, the most valuable metals, silks and foreign furs. Luxury has likewise intruded itself on our tables; we must have wines from the most distant countries; plenty is not enough, our food must be dainty. By this luxury it is that scoundrels of cooks are come to conceit themselves men of importance. This luxury stimulates avarice and cupidity; it authorizes and legitimates usury, meanness, fraud, rapine, public disturbances, malversations in the finances; it sticks at nothing to supply the wants which it has produced.” This description of his times Pepin concludes with a passage from Seneca, applicable to every age, when luxury is in vogue and applauded: *Omne certamen ad turpia, &c.*

An exact knowledge of the manners of Italy in the 14th century, that is in the age of its opulence and splendour, is only to be had in the picture which John Musso has left us of the manners of Placentia his native country. I shall endeavour to copy it, literally following him through all the particulars he has thought fit to mention; and where the reader will unquestionably be surprised at meeting with all our luxury, and most of the French fashions. “ The expences both of men and women, in food and apparel, are risen to a degree, that our ancestors could never imagine nor foresee. Womens gowns, besides their monstrous length and width, are of velvets of the richest colours, silk-stuffs, silk and gold, and

"and gold brocade; if woollen, they must be of
 "the finest scarlet, so that the bare stuff for
 "making a gown costs from 25 to 70 florins or
 "gold ducats: the sleeves are often of such a
 "length as to touch the ground, and their enor-
 "mous breadth is gathered in along the upper
 "part, this being left open for the freedom of
 "the hand. These gowns further have their
 "trimmings, to the amount of five or six ounces
 "of pearl, at ten florins the ounce, sometimes of
 "broad galloons or gold lace, covering the
 "shoulder-piece and border of the sleeves, and
 "likewise gaudily bedaubing little hoods or cha-
 "peroons, which may be drawn over the head.
 "These gowns are tied with girdles, enriched
 "with silver gilt, or pearls to the amount of
 "twenty-five florins. Besides this finery, their
 "fingers are covered with rings of all kinds of
 "jewels, not to be had under thirty florins, some
 "fifty. Those gowns, which were the full dress,
 "intirely covered the neck and breast, while
 "others called cyprians are not so modest. These
 "cyprians, which in the lower part are very full,
 "are made to fit like wax to the shape: The
 "sleeves are as those of the other gowns, and, be-
 "sides the like trimmings, have a row of silver
 "gilt or pearl buttons on each side down their
 "whole length. These gowns, so offensive to
 "modesty, expose the breast, which projects as
 "if struggling to break through its confinement.
 "Exclusive of immodesty, this dress must be al-
 "lowed very graceful."

Now for the head dress. "Here we see
 "crowns or garlands of silver gilt, or pure gold,

" or

"or pearls, which cost from seventy to a hundred
 "florins: likewise *Trezoles* of large pearls, from
 "one hundred to twenty-five florins; *Sagietes*
 "from fifty to one hundred florins. *Trezoles* are
 "three rows of large pearls one hundred in each.
 "These ornaments, which were intermixed with
 "the braidings of the hair, are now succeeded by
 "plates of gold or silver in the shape of a heart,
 "with knots of those jewels.

"Here likewise must be noticed the mantelets,
 "*mantellos five clamides curtas*, together with
 "the coral or amber paternosters and chaplets.
 "No woman is without at least three mantelets of
 "blue, purple, and watered camblet, all lined
 "with an exceeding fine and white silk or cotton
 "plush, ermin and miniver; some with a hood,
 "and others without. These mantelets are come
 "in the room of the mantles, which our mothers
 "used to wear: the latter were flounced all over,
 "and open before, with rows of silver gilt but-
 "tons or pearls to the waist, and covered the
 "whole body from head to foot. This is now
 "the particular vesture for widows, but brown
 "and without any enrichment, and the very but-
 "tons are of the same stuff as the gown; their
 "mantelets and hoods however are lined with the
 "same plush as those of other women.

"Our young men likewise wear cloth and some-
 "times velvet *calas*, or *fortouts*, most extra-
 "gantly large, reaching to the ground, and lined
 "with curious furs of native or foreign beasts.
 "This article costs from twenty to thirty florins.
 "They have also their mantles and mantelets and
 "cloth-hoods lined, and over them embroidered

"scarlet caps. Their usual coat is full or narrow,
 "according to fancy; but always so short as to
 "expose *medias nates & membrum & genitalia*, co-
 "vered however by linen drawers and large cloth
 "breeches fastened in five places to an under waist-
 "coat; but these drawers and breeches are so light
 "as not in the least to hide the shape of what they
 "cover. The coat, with its short skirts before
 "and behind, is, according to the season, of vel-
 "vet, camblet, or the finest linen; but all must
 "be embroidered with silver or silk, if not pearls.
 "The men of dress wear over this coat a girdle
 "or sash; it is only in winter that are general-
 "ly worn the hoods, or close chaperons, hang-
 "ing down to the very ground (*ita quod omnes*
 "*videntur esse in foza, tamen non sunt in foza*).
 " (What this means I own is beyond my know-
 "ledge). For the leg they have little white
 "boots with soles, and often terminating in a
 "point, or a little bill stuffed, and three inches
 "long: these bills are a new fangled fashion.
 "Lastly, our young gentry, like the women, have
 "their necklaces of silver or silver gilt, pearls or
 "coral; their beard is shaved, and their hair
 "clipped half down their ears and rounded be-
 "hind. They are sure to keep as many horses
 "and servants as they can well afford; a foot-
 "man has twelve golden florins a year, and cham-
 "ber-maids seven; they are boarded, but find
 "their own cloaths.
 "The like expence, splendor and nicety shews
 "itself at their tables. This is the usual course,
 "especially in treats of ceremony; the service is
 "ushered in with dry sweetmeats, and wine red
 "and

"and white; then follows a capon or two, and a
 "large joint of meat with almonds and sugar-
 "saucé, richly seasoned. Next comes the roast
 "meat, which, according to the season, consists
 "of fowls, capons, pheasants, partridges, hares,
 "roe-buck, wild-boar and venison, and game of
 "all kind. The roast meat gives place to tarts,
 "pies, and other pastry, all iced, and these are
 "followed by fruit. Then the company washes;
 "but before the table be removed, they fall to
 "eating of sweetmeats, and now and then drink-
 "ing a glass of wine. Sometimes instead of pies
 "that part of the treat is made up of tarts, of
 "eggs, cream, cheese, and milk, and iced with
 "sugar. In winter it is usual to have cold pies
 "of poultry and wild-fowl, of poultry and veal,
 "and even of fish. In summer these pies are all
 "poultry or kid, or veal and poultry. In lent
 "the meal begins with wine and sweetmeats,
 "which are followed by: 1st Dried figs and blanch-
 "ed almonds. 2^{dly}, Large dried fish with pep-
 "per saucé. 3^{dly}, Rice with almonds, milk and
 "sugar, and potted eels. 4^{thly}, Stewed pike.
 "5^{thly}, Nuts and fruits. 6^{thly}, Wine and sweet-
 "meats.
 "Luxury in foods, dresses, houses, and furni-
 "ture, at Placentia, is about seventy years stand-
 "ing; that is, it began to get footing towards
 "the year 1320. Houses, now a-days, have par-
 "lours, rooms with chimnies, courts with piaz-
 "zas, wells, gardens, and a thousand convenien-
 "cies, which our ancestors knew nothing of:
 "many a house, now with several chimnies, had
 "not so much as one in the last century. The

“ fire was made in the middle of the house, and
 “ all the outlet for smoke only between the tiles;
 “ the family gathered about the fire, which also
 “ served for the cookery, and this was the way in
 “ my time in many houses, which had not so much
 “ as a well. Wine seems to have been the dar-
 “ ling object of luxury; at least it is infinitely
 “ better at present than in the last century.

“ As to domestic oeconomy, the master of the
 “ house with his wife and children eat at one table
 “ in a room with a fire, but generally in a kitchen:
 “ one trencher or plate serves two persons; every
 “ one has his slice of bread and two cristal
 “ glasses, one for water the other for wine; many
 “ are attended by their servants, who cut out the
 “ victuals on the table, and bring them water to
 “ wash before and after meals.

“ Furniture, at present, runs away with twelve
 “ times more than before the year 1330. This
 “ expensive taste we owe to France, Flanders, and
 “ Spain; and now the luxury of all these countries
 “ hath over-run Placentia. Tables, formerly on-
 “ ly twelve inches broad, are now enlarged to
 “ eighteen, and with table-cloths and napkins,
 “ likewise silver cups, spoons, and forks, porrin-
 “ gers, large knives, ewers, and basons. The
 “ beds, besides silk quilts, have a tester or little
 “ canopy with linen curtains hanging all round
 “ it; instead of lamps, houses of any credit use
 “ torches, or wax or tallow candles in brass or
 “ iron candlesticks; and that house is poor in-
 “ ded, which is not provided with every utensil for
 “ decency and conveniency.

“ To

“To have two fires is now grown a custom,
 “one for a room, the other for a kitchen; great
 “quantities of sweetmeats are laid up in store,
 “and nothing is grudged for gratifying the appe-
 “tite.

“But now let us proceed to the effects of
 “this luxury. Portions have kept pace with
 “expence; they now rise to four, five, or six
 “hundred florins, and these the husband sinks in
 “cloaths for his wife and a sumptuous wedding.
 “And the bride’s father, for his part, besides the
 “portion, does not expend less than a hundred
 “florins in paraphernalia, presents, and other
 “charges now grown indispensable.

“Iniquitous gains are become the natural con-
 “sequence of a luxury which has already ruined a
 “great number of families, by taking no care to re-
 “gulate their expences according to their abilities.

“A little reflection would have taught them, that
 “a house, with nine mouths and two horses, can-
 “not, as things go now, be completely kept un-
 “der three hundred florins, or four hundred and
 “eighty imperials, and so in proportion; and all
 “this, exclusive of unforeseen, extraordinary, and
 “inevitable expences. But people live away with-
 “out troubling themselves about any such calcu-
 “lations; and thus, after making a blaze at home,
 “they are obliged to steal away, enter into foreign
 “service, or are glad to be clerks to a ware-
 “house, or in some such paltry business.

“These are the evils into which the nobility,
 “the trading houses and the citizens of Placen-
 “tia are running headlong; nay, I shall not ex-
 “cept the very artificers and handy-crafts-men:

"these likewise have their luxury, as may be seen
"in their frequent meetings at taverns."

R A V E N N A.

From Sinigaglia we took the road to Venice, returning back to Rimini, from whence we proceeded to Cervia, a small place; the salt-works, however, supply the pope's territories and part of Lombardy. Though a bishop's see, this town contains nothing remarkable but storehouses very strong built, and closely shut, as were the houses, so that they seemed to be without inhabitants. Its whole territory being a dry mixture of salt and sand, the air is very unhealthy. In appearance it has been formed by the sea, the ebbing of which, indeed, has produced the greater part of the pope's possessions on this coast.

We afterwards passed through a large forest of pines, where the soil is intirely sandy, and does not afford so much as the least blade or spine of verdure. It is doubtless to this aridity that the seed of these pines owes its speedy maturity, which makes it so much in request, that there is a great demand for it all over Italy. In this forest, which he calls *Pigneta*, Bocace has placed the scene of that odd apparition which is the subject of the eighth novel of the fifth book of the *Decameron*; and which, according to him, *fu cugione che tutte le Ravennane Donne si pauraose ne divennero, che sempre poi troppo arrendevoli a piaceri degli huomini furono*, i. e. put the Ravenna women into such a fright, that, ever since, they have been rather for complying with mens desires.

As we drew near to Ravenna we lost sight of the sea, and in places which it covered in the time of the Exarchs, that is, in the sixth and seventh centuries of the christian æra. In the middle of the plain, formed by its recess, we passed by, on our left, the church of St. Appolinaris; the stately but the only remains of the town of Classe (a), a very considerable place under the Roman emperors, as defending the south entrance of a harbour which Augustus had made the station of the fleet destined for the security of the Adriatic. The bay of this harbour was defended by another town called Cesarea, and Ravenna commanded the northern mouth. This harbour, the entrance of which may be supposed to have been contracted by moles and jettées, was in extent a league every way, and its borders between the three towns which commanded it, were all along covered with storehouses, and barracks for the soldiers and seamen, intermixed with delightful seats. The pick-ax every day brings to light *Rudera* of vast and strong buildings, which might be said to make one continued town of the three abovementioned; but now the surface is reduced to a bare smooth plain, so that the sea, in receding from these delicious places, seems totally to have swallowed them up.

Ravenna overlooks this plain: its ancient situation, according to Strabo's description*, was not very unlike the present situation of Venice, whereas now its distance from the sea is above a league.

(a) Boccace, in the tale abovementioned, calls it *Chiaff*.

Lib. 5.

The above geographer thinks it was founded by the Theſſalians: this unqueſtionably muſt have been in thoſe times, when ſwarms of men from Greece, now almoſt a deſart, poured themſelves forth on thoſe coaſts of Italy which were neareſt or moſt convenient to them. It was among the conqueſts made by the Romans on the *Boian Gauls*, as theſe had driven out the Sabines. Tiberius rebuilt its walls with a magnificence of which ſome traces are ſtill viſible in the *Porta Aurea*: it was the favourite reſidence of Galla Placidia, who was daughter, ſiſter, and mother to emperors, and who ſupported the tottering fortune of the weſtern empire in the moſt critical circumſtances. Theodoric afterwards made it the ſeat of his empire. After a ſubjection of ſeventy years to the Oſtrogoths, Ravenna again came under the dominion of the emperors of Conſtantinople, who governed it by Exarchs, from whom Aſtolphus, king of the Lombards, conquered it in 732. This conqueſt brought the Lombards to the neighbourhood of Rome, which ſo alarmed the popes, that they called in the French. Charlemain, ſay the Italians, after the conqueſt of Lombardy, for the ſecurity of the Holy See, made a grant to it of the full ſovereignty of Ravenna and its exarchate, reaching from Rimini to Placentia, and from the Appennine to the Veroneſe and Vicentine marſhes. Ravenna being, in the following centuries, come into a ſtate of liberty, ſtood up in its own defence againſt Frederic II. but was overpowered by the forces of the Bologneſe. After being ſubject to them about a century, it was rent by intestine factions between the houſes of Traverſara and Polenta.

lenta. The latter prevailing, seized on the sovereignty, and kept quiet possession of it till 1440, when the Venetians, making themselves masters of it, fortified it as one of the keys of their continental dominions. In 1509 the victory of Agnadello deprived them of it, and Lewis XII. gave it to Julius II. who, in the very following year, raised all Europe against that monarch. Under the walls of this city, on Easter-day 1512, was fought that battle so memorable for the valour of the French, who had all the forces of Italy and Spain to deal with. Eighteen thousand men fell in the action; but the French, though victorious, being weakened by the loss of their commander, and the flower of the nation, were soon dispossessed of their Italian conquests; the castles of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona, being all that remained to them. The first fruit of the above victory had been the taking of Ravenna, on which occasion it underwent all the excesses which could be committed by an army flushed with victory and under no command. It soon returned to the papal dominion. The Venetians recovering it, in 1527, during the imprisonment of Clement VII. restored it two years after to the church, and it is now the seat of the Romanese legation.

At a little distance from Ravenna, we perceived to the left a cross set up in memory of the above-mentioned battle, on the bank of a small river, called the Ronco. This river, the Montone, and some torrents issuing from the Appennine, formerly lost themselves among the alluvions about Ravenna; and, for want of a fixed bed, made their way to the very city in a manner which threatned

its

its destruction. At length its safety has been provided for by canals so judiciously laid out, that though, at first sight, they seem intended only for ornament and pleasure, it is by them it has a settled communication with the sea. This enterprize, worthy of ancient Rome, formed and executed under the government to which this fine country is subject, will be an illustrious monument of what maybe done in any age and country whatever, by such a genius as that of cardinal Alberoni, who began and finished this work, within the space of three years. The Venetians had before made some progress in defending Ravenna against inundations, by diverting the mouth of the Savio, which formerly was its harbour; whereas this river at present empties itself in the sea, amidst the shoals and sand-banks of Cervia.

Ravenna is now only a vast solitude, though the streets are large, strait, and regular, with squares and fountains, and most of its sacred edifices are stately remains of its ancient splendour. It is a pity that so very fertile a territory should be without hands to cultivate it. The present soil, which is far higher than the ancient, this being now under water, was very proper for mulberry-trees. But these trees die away disregarded, and without being replaced, Ravenna having now no other vent for its silks than the commiseration of the English, and of this self interest is the mobile*.

Nothing can be more curious and exquisite than the marble sculps in the churches built at

* See the articles of Milan and Pezaro.

Ravenna by Justinian, Placidia and Theodoric. Those of the last prince eminently verify what Ennodius in his panegyric says of his taste for the sciences and fine arts: *cum educaverat in gremio civilitatis Græcia*. Nothing is more remote from barbarism than the writings of Cassiodorus his chancellor, who was the Fontenelle of his age. Nothing more remote from Gothism, than all the monuments of this king of the Ostrogoths. After all Pausanias's profusion of eloquence in praise of the monuments of ancient Greece, the magnificence of them was not equal to that of the churches of St. Vital *di Classe di Dentro*, and of St. Apollinarius in Ciel-aureo.

The former of these churches, supposed to have been built by Justinian, is like that of St. Apollinarius *di Classe di fuora*, a dome in the form of an octagon, with a peristyle supporting a row of galleries. At first sight its inward proportions seemed to me of the shortest, and I could not but wonder at the pillars being without bases. But a kind of vault being opened, I saw at the depth of three feet the old pavement, which is of a fine mosaic, and the base of one of the pillars; during part of the year these are under water. The precise regularity of the old Grecian architecture is not to be sought for in the monuments of the lower ages of Greece; but it is made up as far as can be by the boldness, freedom, and delicacy of the workmanship, to which may be added, the richness of the marble pillars and linings of all the parts of these edifices. The canopy of the great altar of St. Vital is supported by four large columns brought from Greece,

Greece, and one seems a compound of gems; yet this mixture has not in the least impaired either their nature or lustre.

This church belongs to the Benedictines, whose house has a very remarkable singularity in it; a complete collection of the medicaments for treating distempers of all kinds, and of every imaginable expedient for the conveniency of the sick. Besides a well furnished laboratory, and an excellent physic garden kept in the best order, here are six large rooms on a floor: in the first is a complete set of pieces of anatomy; then all the instruments hitherto contrived for chirurgical operations, together with thread, needles, tents, bandages, suitable to every operation; lastly a storehouse of beds, sheets, bed cloaths, couches, pillars, cut out and prepared for the ready use of every kind of disease, with all possible conveniency to those who attend on the patients. These stores are distributed in large presses which wainscot the six rooms, and are of very neat workmanship. To reproach the preparatives contrived by an active charity, with sensuality and delicacy, would be an offence against human nature. For those distempers which require equitation, here is a most ingenious invention; a large dragon is suspended in the middle of one of these rooms, which, by means of clock-work, has all the motions of a horse. It gave me some pleasure to see the Benedictine, who invented this automaton, put it to a full trot; there I also saw, but with very different emotions, a piece of wax-work, the history of which was related to me.

A young

A young man, passionately in love with a very beautiful young woman, went for a few days to his relations, to settle matters on the occasion. In the mean time, this beauty fell sick, died, and, at the young mans return, had been buried three days. Fancying the sight of his mistress might somewhat alleviate his despair, he got the vault to be opened, and there she was seen in reality, as we saw her represented in wax. Extremely beautiful, among the damp regions of the dead; a lizard is sucking her mouth, a worm is creeping out of one of her cheeks, a mouse is gnawing one of her ears, and a huge swollen toad on her forehead is preying on one of her eyes. I own, at first sight, I took this to be no more than a pious contrivance for mortifying pride, and alienating the heart from too violent a love of sublunary inticements; but I have since been convinced of its possibility. Indeed, all the churches in Italy, from which for many ages religion and afterwards health had excluded all burial places, are now become one catacomb, divided in cases or vaults seven-feet long, four broad, and five deep, separated by very slight walls, with a marble or stone cover, the extremities of which bear on those walls. Exactly in this manner was laid out the whole subterraneous part of the great church, which the Dominicans were building at Ancona, so that it looked not unlike a pigeon-house. At the removal of a corpse into this last receptacle, it is brought to the edge of the vault in its vesture, and the face uncovered. Then the vault is half opened lengthwise, and after turning up its veil if a female, or spreading
ing

ing a handkerchief on the face, it is tumbled into the case, where it takes its chance in the fall, and the vault is immediately closed. Now it is both very possible and probable, that such animals, subsisting without the open air, may haunt and delight in such places. The tombstones do not long fit in their first exactness, the walls being very slight sink unequally, and thus cause a multitude of crevices.

In one of the courts of this same monastery, amidst brambles and thorns, and under a roof just fit for a dogkennel, we were shewn a little square chapel, the burial place of the empress Placidia, which she used every precaution possible to preserve from that beforementioned horror. This chapel, which is curiously lined with a beautiful grifeline marble, contains three large tombs of the same marble, waved in a very exquisite taste and finely finished. In two of these tombs are laid Honorius her brother, and Valentinian her son; in the third, which is much larger than the two others, originally sat Placidia herself in an elbow-chair, embalmed, and attired with all the ensigns of majesty. Some curious person after breaking through the marble, in a part where the artist's hand had thinned it most, introduced a light, by which part of its contents were perceived. Some bungler afterwards took it into his head to do the like, set the empress's cloaths on fire, and thus her remains were totally consumed.

Without the walls of Ravenna, in the middle of the tract from which the sea has receded, stands another monument of the same kind, erected by queen Amalazuntha to Theodoric her father. It is
a rotundo

a rotunda of thirty feet diameter, divided into two stories, each forming a chapel. Its roof is of one single piece of granite, cut in the form of an inverted cup, and its contour terminating with a cornish, mouldings, and edges of chapiters. On the center of its convex outside, four columns supported Theodoric's tomb; it was one single block of porphyry, eight feet long, four in depth, and the like in breadth. It was likewise covered with bronze of most curious workmanship, and surrounded with statues of the twelve apostles (a); as it stood high, it formed a stately landmark for Ravenna harbour, and the ships coming into it. The rotunda on which it rested is now above a league from the sea, and lost among the trees with which this large alluvion is over-run, and its lower chapel is in the water. I have taken notice that the door of this chapel is in the finest proportion, and without any of the disfigurements of Gothism.

As to the tomb, it subsisted in its original grandeur till the taking of Ravenna by the French, who, in order to plunder the bronze covering, cannonaded the tomb itself. There is not an Italian, that treats of the antiquities of Ravenna or the wars of Italy, who does not launch into the most reproachful invectives, and the people of Ravenna, to this day, loudly exclaim, against this savage attempt, and indeed of some others, which the French committed in the frenzy of victory. My copy of Alberti, at the margin of the place

Without the walls of Ravenna, in the middle of the city, stand the statues of the twelve apostles, which having been carried away by the Venetians, now stand in the patriarchal church of St. Mark, on the grate, which separates the choir from the Nave.

where

where these violences are related, has these two words in very old writing, *Iniquità de' Francesi*, to which a later hand has added *sceleraggine*. These reproaches of writers, and of a whole people, provoked by injuries done to favourite objects, may teach the military gentlemen, that both antiquity and posterity should not be beneath their regard.

I shall conclude these remarks on the ancient buildings of Ravenna with observing, that, of all those which I have seen, none come up to the magnificence of *St. Apollinaris di classe di fuori*, which unquestionably was built by the emperor Justinian. This edifice is the only remainder of all those buildings and houses, which, under the Exarches, still made a considerable city. The church indeed I never saw, but by the descriptions of it which are come into my hands, and by what I have heard of it, this pre-eminence is no more than its due.

In that of the Holy Ghost is most carefully preserved the ancient pontifical seat of the archbishops of Ravenna: it is not unlike one of our pulpits. Towards the roof in the same church is likewise seen a little casement, through which the Holy Ghost is said to have come in the shape of a pigeon, and presided at the election of eleven of those archbishops, alighting on the head of him who was designed for that dignity.

These archbishops were formerly very great temporal lords under the Exarches. Ravenna, as the metropolis of all the imperial remains in Italy, and looking on Rome only as a duchy and a bone of contention for the Barbarians, set up to
rival

rival her, and even laid claim to the hierarchical primacy, as a consequential accessory to the temporal primacy, which Rome could not contest with it. Such a claim occasioned high disputes between the archbishops and the popes, for which Pepin and Charlemain effectually chastised Ravenna, subjecting it to the pope even in temporalities.

In this city are several good paintings of the Bologna school, but not a little damaged by the dampness of the churches. From that of St. Vital has been removed a painting of Barrocci, now placed in the vestry; it represents the martyrdom of that saint, whom his persecutors are throwing into a well, together with his wife and children. The subject is new, but not adapted to the pencil; accordingly it is much below some of Barrocci's pieces, and wants expression and arrangement. He who excelled in virgins and angels, strikes out of his walk in going about martyrs; yet does he shew himself here in a young woman, who, with her eyes fixed on the principal subject, seems labouring under redoubled tenderness and affection for a sucking child, whom she is hugging in her arms. This piece has suffered both from the dampness of the church, and unequal attempts to restore it.

The Camaldulensi have an Annunciation by Guido; and one of the most pleasing pieces it is of that great master: dampness has likewise preyed on this, but without injuring its principal beauties, which however will be done by some refreshing.

The great square of Ravenna is an oblong, with the statues of two popes facing each other at each end, one in bronze, viz. Alexander VII. the other of white marble representing Clement XII. both are sitting and giving the blessing; the first with two fingers, and the second with his open hand. A common jest passed on them is, that they are playing at *morra*, a game among the people of Italy, in which they shew a vivacity and acuteness, which is not the portion of our northern people, to whom this play is a mere riddle. The Romans called it *Micare digitis & ludere par impar*.

In the public monuments the popes at Ravenna are represented sitting, *per la dignità*; a posture the more inconvenient, as the artists in modelling these figures seem to have forgot, that, being to be placed on pedestals, they should be seen from the bottom to the top. To this inattention it is in a great measure owing, that most of these statues appear all of a lump, or, as if their Holiness's were easing themselves. This awkward posture Phidias to be sure avoided, in his Olympic Jupiter; Michael Angelo departed from it in the Julius the II^d, which he made for Bologna, representing that martial pope standing, in his more predominant character, that of a general of an army: *Opartebat Imperatorem stantem exhiberi*.*

Ravenna has two hospitals and a college of jesuits. The cleanliness of the hospitals would be admired, even in Holland, so that citizens of all ranks make them their refuge, as every way bet-

Saxony in Vespas.

ter attended and provided for, than they can expect their own home. At the jesuits college one sees a swarm of lively youths, in whom the artless and open graces of the early age are enlivened by that volatility of wit, genius, and petulancy of temper, which afterwards by reflection becomes staid; which a total change of the countenance disguises, and age suppresses without extinguishing.

Amidst all these remains of its ancient splendor, Ravenna is now only *Magni nominis umbra*. It has neither trade nor manufactures, of course few handicraftsmen or artificers; the bulk of its inhabitants are idle nobles, making the interest of the princes of Europe, that is, the thing of all others the most foreign to them, their most important or indeed their only business. The great square, where they meet every evening, is geometrically divided between the Austrians and Prussians, the two leading parties, one of which is careful never to set its foot on the other's ground: on only crossing this square, you see which side has the better of the war; this is manifest in the exultation of the victors, and the dejection of the losing party. News is expected there with more impatience than in the cabinet of any one sovereign of Europe. Alexander VII, and Clement XII, in that square, see more schemes laid in one summer, than the Cracovia tree of the palace of Luxemburg at Paris sees brought forth in four campaigns. Each party is headed by chiefs distinguished for their political fanaticism. These it is who authenticate news, who fix projects, who exult at victories, and who bear the burthen of miscarriages.

On a decisive victory the vanquished party never shews its face in the square, till some fortunate event revives its hopes; its chiefs do not so much as appear in public, and the victorious party, being masters of all the great square, sometimes make public rejoycings, which the government tolerates. In 1757, on the news of a blow the king of Prussia had received in Bohemia or Silesia, the Austrian party, after a formal entertainment given by the marquis*** its chief, had made a bonfire in the square, the decorations of which terminated in the Prussian arms, which, as a worthy conclusion of the festivity, were by means of fire-works split into shivers, and scattered all over the square. The head of this same party was afterwards so nonplussed by the battle of Rossbach, as to keep to his room for a month.

Demosthenes, in the portico of Athens, used to say to the Athenians, "When you get together here, you are buzzing with one another, what news? what news? Pray, what greater news can you hear, than what is before you?"

Previously to our taking leave of Ravenna we must observe, that facing one of its finest streets, in a wall of which is fixed a fragment of Theodoric's superb tomb, is a small open temple, separated from the street only by some iron work; here lye the remains *del divino Dante*, who, being banished his country, came and settled at Ravenna, where he died in 1341. This monument was erected to him by Bembo father to the famous cardinal of that name, and proveditor at Ravenna for the Venetians: on it is Dante's effigy, with this epitaph, very well known indeed,

indeed, but too honourable, both to the magistrate who erected it, and the poet to whom it is erected, to be omitted here.

Exigua tumuli, Dantes, hic sorte jacebas,

Squalenti nulli cognite pæne situ,

At nunc marmoreo subnixus conderis arcu

Omniibus et cultu splendidiore nites.

Nimirum Bembus musis incensus étruscis

Hoc tibi quem imprimis hæc coluere, dedit.

It has likewise another epitaph in rhyming hexameters, of which the last two lines are these:

Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,

Quem genuit pravi Florentia mater amoris

This scandalous charge is very common in the mouths of the Venetians towards the Florentines, who give them as good as they send; *Va à Firenze*, in the mouth of a Venetian, and *Va à Venezia*, in the mouth of a Florentine, answer to the phrase used in France among the mobility, to get rid of a troublesome subject. Concerning this, I was told that a Venetian and a Florentine, who had never been from home before, meeting at Rome, the Venetian said to the Florentine, *V. S. a mai veduto Venezia?* Signar nò, answered the Florentine. *Ab!* continued the Venetian, *va à Venezia, e poi mori.* The Florentine asking the same question of the Venetian, and he likewise answering in the negative, he replied: *va à Firenze, è fa ti b.* Thus is every province of Italy, denoted by different imputations, which to Italian sprightliness are an inexhaustible source of keen or dull jests, according to the difference of Genius's and tastes.

Florence

Florence desirous of reconciling itself with the manes of an illustrious citizen, whom, during his life, it had persecuted, has several times applied for leave to bring away Dante's remains; but the people of Ravenna never could be brought to comply.

Ravenna, under the empire, had the privilege of coinage. Du Cange mentions a medal of Honorius with these letters on the exergue of the reverse, R. V. P. S. which he renders, *Ravennæ pecunia signata*. Some coins are remaining of the kings who succeeded Theodoric, and by these coins Athalaric, Theodat, Vitiges, and Baduila retained some regard at least in this point for the majesty of that empire which they had dismembered: indeed the king of Persia himself was equally observant of this badge of superiority. Almost all the coins of these Ostrogoth kings have the head of Justinian I. with his name and titles, D. N. P. F. A, and on the reverse the heads of one of those kings, with only the title of Rex. The ancient coins of the popes are likewise monuments of the supremacy which the emperors retained over the patrimony of the church, even since Charelemain's grant; and they are the more decisive, as bearing the image of the prince, and only the name or monogram of the pope, in whose pontificate they were coined, or of St Peter or St. Paul. The kings of France, acknowledging, from the very origin of the monarchy, no temporal authority over theirs, were the only sovereigns who might cause money to be coined in their name and with their image only. *Nummos*, says Procopius, speaking of these sovereigns, *cu-*
dunt

dunt ex auro Gallico, non imperatoris ut fieri solet, sed suâ impressos effigie. Monetam quidem argenteam Persarum rex, arbitrato suo, cudere consuevit: auream verò neque ipsi, neque alii cuiquam Barbarorum regi, quamvis auri domino, vultu proprio signare non licet.

FERRARA.

Ferrara is but three posts, that is between fourteen and fifteen leagues from Ravenna, up the country: All these parts were formerly one continued marsh; but now nature, with the assistance of art, has formed them into lands to which no good quality is wanting:

Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono:

But the hands which should cultivate them seem to be influenced by the continual decline of the sovereign. On the grounds which command the old marshes stand considerable towns, as Bagna-Cavallo, Cotignola, Lugo, Argenta, S. Giorgio.

Bagna-Cavallo, formerly called *Ad Caballos*, is famous as the birth-place of Bartholomew Ramenghi, who, on the death of Francia, became head of the painting school formed at Bologna by that master in the 16th century. Ramenghi, but better known by the name of Bagna-Cavallo, equalled Perugino, rivalled Raphael, and was master to the famous Primaticia, whom Francis I. invited into France, where he settled on him the abbey of St. Martin-es-aires de Troyes. Vasari praises his *maniera dolce, sicuna e unita di disegno e di colorito:*

P 4

which

which Guido and Albano imitated and adopted, especially in children.

At Bagna-Cavallo we saw a large and beautiful villa, or rather indeed palace, belonging to a gentleman of the country, who entertained us with a walk over a spacious garden, curiously laid out in exotic plants, under the direction of a gardener, that appeared to us a very great botanist.

Cotignola has likewise given its name to a painter of the Bologna school, and contemporary with Bagna-Cavallo. This place, once fortified by the famous John D'Agut, to whom Gregory XI. had given it as a fief, in recompence for his services to the Holy See, when Gonfalonier, and now almost a desert, was the nursery of a house which shone with an almost momentary blaze among the sovereign houses of Europe. I mean the Sforzas, dukes of Milan. Brantôme, and the historians of Italy agree with him, gives us a sketch of the no less astonishing than rapid fortune of the head of this house.

"I have heard," says that French Plutarch, "I have frequently heard in Naples, that Francis Sforza, whom Philip de Comines, yet with great encomiums, makes only a shoemaker's son, seeing, when a boy at work in the field, some soldiers pass along, hearty looking men, well armed, and cavalierly clad, was taken with the sight, the temptation fastened on him, he must needs make the like figure, leave his mechanical trade, and turn soldier. So taking his zappa, or pick ax, as the Neapolitan calls it, he threw it up in a tree, saying, Away with thee, away with thee."

“ with thee; and if thou lodgest in the tree, with-
 “ out falling down back to me, so be it, and in-
 “ stead of thee, I will handle arms. It happened
 “ that the pick-ax lodged in the tree, and Sforza
 “ rejoicing at the omen, insisted and became
 “ the most celebrated commander, that Christen-
 “ dom has seen for these three thousand years, per-
 “ forming such glorious achievement as greatly
 “ raised his family, for his descendants came to
 “ be dukes of Milan.” Brantome did not know,
 or had forgot that the grandeur of this house
 was promoted, not by the children of this first
 Sforza, but by a bastard of his who inherited all
 his military qualities.

At Lugo we fell in with a fair, where all the
 pedlars of the Romanese, the Venetian territories
 and part of Lombardy, were got together under
 a very spacious market-house. Being willing to
 be dealing like the rest, I exchanged some louis-
 d'ors to pretty good advantage. Booksellers fol-
 low all these fairs: a practice which has not been
 adopted in France. Are then the French book-
 sellers less eager after gain than those of Italy, or
 is reading and a taste for books more general in
 Italy than in France? Lugo formerly stood in the
 centre of a forest, the only spot in this part of
 Romagna which was not swampy. Now San-
 Giorgio, which the Po separates from Fer-
 rara, was the nursery of the late but some revolu-
 tion, of which we have no certain epocha. Hav-
 ing obliged the inhabitants of Ferrarola, whose
 patron was St. George, to shelter themselves across
 the Po from an enemy who was master of Roma-
 gna, they threw themselves among these marshes,
 which,

which, though then impracticable, Ferrara and its territory are since risen. Some historians suppose Attila to have been this formidable enemy.

The Po, which runs south and eastward of Ferrara, is the first of the arms by which this river discharges itself into the Adriatic at Porto Primaro, some leagues above Ravenna. From this arm the Romans had drawn a canal, by Pliny called *fossa Marfanicia* or *Mauriciana*. This canal, which, leaving the lake of Commachio on the left, went as far as Modena, taking Ravenna in its way, has now little or no water.

The mouth of this branch of the Po was famous in antiquity, on account of the town of Spina, built there by the ancient Pelasgi*. In the early ages of this city, which was the Tyre and Venice of these coasts, it had sent to the temple of Delphi some offerings, the richness and delicacy of which continued to be admired in the most brilliant ages of Greece and Rome. The sea, in the midst of which it was situated, insensibly withdrew from it, so that, so long ago as Strabo's time, it was ninety stades, that is about three French leagues distant. Not a trace is to be seen of this city; and if the sea has continued receding from it in a progressive proportion to the alluvion it has formed on this coast since Strabo's time, the remains of Spina must be looked for five or six leagues up the country.

Ferrara though larger, better built and more regular, yet is more thinly peopled than Ravenna, so that, within a circuit of above a league,

* Dion. Halic. l. 1. Strab. l. 5. Plin. l. 3. c. 15.

it scarce contains 4000 inhabitants; and the much greater part of these are the garrison, the legate's retinue, and the secular and regular clergy. I here waited on the marquis Bevilaqua, a branch of one of the first and most ancient families of the Ferrarese. This nobleman gives himself up to the more abstruse sciences with great assiduity, and his only relaxation is physical experiments, for which he has a most elegant and complete set of instruments and machines, together with a workshop, where these machines are made under his inspection, and sometimes by his own hands.

I likewise paid my respects to the marquis Pallavicini, who, by his distinguished behaviour in the service of the empress queen, had been raised to the rank of field-marshal. He is settled at Ferrara, having lately purchased all the free lands remaining to the house of Este, of which Clement VIII. had been pleased to leave it in possession, when he stripped it of Ferrara. These estates, which it had preserved down to these times, consist of several fine parcels of land, yet without either inhabitants or cultivation. M. Pallavicini intends to improve them, by means of German settlers. Since the emperor became master of Tuscany, he had formed and begun to put in execution such a scheme for clearing the heaths between Pisa and Leghorn; but from the manner of going about it no success could be expected. These poor colonists were set down among the heaths which were to be cleared, without preparing for them any shelter against the weather; without providing any subsistence for them, till they got some supply from their improvements; and
without

without furnishing them with the necessary implements for setting about their work.

Ergo ege terram rostris rimantar & ipsis Unguibus.

Accordingly two winters brought this colony to a most distressful end. By the very same negligence, it is said, the French colonies of Madagascar, Mississippi, &c. came to nothing; whereas M. Pallavicini in his settlements will imitate the care, foresight, and liberality of the English. All he apprehended was futurity, and the influence of the Italian air, and the example of the natives on the third and fourth generation of the laborious Germans, who will be for enjoying the common rights and privileges of Papimania, that region of sloth, idleness, and indolence.

The strong propensity of these Papimaniacs to inactivity is grounded on the condition of the lands, all being annexed either to beneficed clergy, of whose luxury alms are a part, or to charitable foundations, which here, I take upon me to say, are carried to excess, in favour of every human want. Sloth would equally prevail in any country where the like reliefs are provided for it. The nature of the government has likewise some share in this stupidity, even in the imposition of the taxes, which, so far from offering incentives to industry, blunt naturally it in all the objects on which it could fasten.

These considerations were the subject of a long conversation in traversing the lonely streets of Ferrara, with an abbe of an illustrious family in this city,

city, who was pleased to be my conductor. He was a person of very amiable manners, and knew a great deal; he was of the same mind with La Fontaine himself, concerning the felicity of *this good country*; and demonstrated it from all the little inconveniencies attending every other system; at length being driven out of all his intrenchments, he reduced the happiness of the papal territories to this, that, said he, no body comes to run away with our wives, or ravish our daughters. I could not put a more polite end to this conversation, than by the joke which rose quite naturally from such an observation in the mouth of an abbé. He took my raillery with all the good nature in the world, and even brought it again on the carpet, at a house where we spent the evening.

In short, were it not for the legate and the garri-son, who scatter a little money about Ferrara, the few inhabitants remaining in it would ebb away like the water of a pond with its dam broken: its whole commerce is so minute as to be included in the *Ghetto*, or Jews-quarter.

Yet did this city and its dependencies swarm with inhabitants under the house of Este; and especially the latter sovereigns of that house, who worthily sustained the honour of the alliance with France, the princess Renée, daughter of Lewis XII. being given in marriage to Hercules II.

“Both,” says Brantome, “very gallant and brave princes, whose hearts were thoroughly French, and never failing in the obligations they owe to our kings; these were that great cardinal of Ferrara, and the magnificent cardinal d’Este! “I may say of them, that I have seen them shew
“themselves

“ themselves a hundred times better Frenchmen
 “ than several born such; and they used very
 “ earnestly to advise Messieurs d’Guise, their ne-
 “ phews, to be obedient to their king. In a word,
 “ they deserved being grandsons to Lewis XII.

“ No prince in Christendom behaves better to-
 “ wards his subjects, than the present duke of
 “ Ferrara (a), imposing no further taxes than
 “ what are absolutely necessary, and, on any just
 “ representation of grievances, immediately re-
 “ dressing them. Accordingly he is beloved among
 “ them, as his grandfather, king Lewis, was by
 “ us, and it prospers with him accordingly; so that
 “ I question whether any prince in these parts of
 “ the world has more ready money at com-
 “ mand.”

The same author gives us a detail of the ser-
 vices done by that house to France, either by feats
 of arms, or by the magnificence and spirit with
 which cardinal Hyppolyte d’Este supported the
 French name at Rome, *He would not for all the
 world that any Spanish or Italian cardinal should,
 in grandeur or any thing whatever, out-do a French
 cardinal.*

The re-union of Ferrara to the Holy See is,
 perhaps, the greatest blow which the court of
 Rome has ever struck, openly, and in spite of all
 the Italian powers, whom cardinal d’Ossat* ima-
 gined to be as determined, as they were concerned,
 to prevent that re-union. Several circumstances
 concurred to its success: the death of Philip II. of
 Spain; the easy compliance of Henry IV. of

(a) Alphonso II. last duke of Ferrara.

* See his letters in the year 1537.

France with Clement the VIIIth's views, and the total imbecility of the presumptive heir. The jesuits did good service to the Aldobrandini family, and forwarded matters by the negociations which they set on foot at Madrid, at Paris, and Ferrara. There must be very substantial proofs, to warrant a surmise, that the large sums for which the Valois family was still behind-hand to the house of Este, had any share in Henry the IVth's conduct on this great affair.

Ferrara, being very opulent and powerful before it came under the house of Este, had long and cruelly experienced the evils connected with anarchy: the loss of its liberty was a great gain to it. The author of a chronicle in the 13th century thus describes its former condition, *Collisi sunt cives Ferrarie alterutrum, nunc rebus male secundis, nunc adversis. Audiui à majoribus natu, quod in quadraginta annorum curriculo altera pars alteram decies è civitate extruserat, &c. Acepi puer a genitore meo hiberno tempore confabulante mecum in lare, quod viderat in civitate Ferrarie turres altas 32, quas mox vidit prosterni ac dirui.*

The particulars of these intestine revolutions are to be found in Muratori's 54th dissertation. The house of Este owed the beginning of its grandeur to one of those revolutions which I shall relate. About the middle of the 12th century, Ferrara was divided between the Guelfs and Ghiblines, almost to a numerical precision; the chief of one of these parties was the elder Salinguerra, of the other William de la Marchesella: the latter died in 1190, and, leaving only a daughter, the wisest heads of both parties thought nothing could

could be better than for this heiress to marry young Salinguerra, as thus the whole city would be united under one head, and concord and tranquillity be restored, instead of the broils and intrigues, the effects of a plurality of chiefs. But the Ravenna Guelfs, coming with an armed force, and carrying off the intended bride, married her to one d'Este, who became the chief of the party which his father in law had headed, and who, besides an immense fortune, did by this marriage pave the way for his family to the sovereignty of Ferrara. The disturbances and reciprocal expulsions related in the above-mentioned chronicle were the fruits of this marriage, and of the irreconcilable competition of the two parties, between whom fortune seemed to have observed an alternative. Such was the condition of Ferrara for fifty years. It was concerning these factions with which, at the same time, almost all the cities in Italy were rent, that Dante says in his Purgatory.

Le città d'Italia tutte piene

Son di tiranni, ed un Marcel diventa

Ogni Villan che parteggiando viene.

In the great square at Ferrara are two bronze statues of ancient sovereigns of this state; one on horseback, the other on foot: the equestrian has nothing more to be admired in it, than that in the Nave of notre Dame at Paris; and that on foot might, by the attitude, be taken for a cobbler in his stall. The arts were then in their infancy; and that they were raised out of it, is not a little owing

ing to the descendants of those sovereigns so ill represented.

In the distribution of its streets and squares, and in its public, private, and sacred buildings, Ferrara still exhibits very stately monuments of the magnificence of the house of Este, and of the taste which its example and encouragements promoted. The learned investigations of Cyntio Giraldi and of Celio Calcagnini, two of the brightest philologists of the 16th century, are some fruits of the favour which this house shewed to literature, and to such of its subjects as cultivated it with distinction. In short, Ariosto's famous poem gives us, as I may say, a specimen of the genius of a court, which Brantome says, surpassed all others for elegance, politeness, delicacy, and courtesy. In the church of the Benedictines lies this poet, who if there ever was one, was a poet. His bust, which is as big as life and of white marble, is the principal piece of the tomb, which was erected to him by Augustine Musti, one of his friends and countrymen. Hither his ashes have been removed from the cloyster of the same house, where, at first, he had been interred. In his first burial place was a sonnet, which I shall insert, both from respect to his memory to whom it was consecrated, and to the piece itself, as worthy to be distinguished from the crowd of such compositions, with which all parts of Italy are most disgracefully over-run.

*Qui giace l'Ariosto: Arabi Odegi
Spiegato, O Aure, à questa Tomba interno*

*Tomba ben degna d'immortali banori,
 Ma troppa à sì grand alma humil Saggiorno,
 Ossa felici, voi d'incensi e di fiori
 Habbiato il Busto qu'hor cinto e adorno;
 E da li Hesperii liti e da li Eoi
 Vengan mille bell' alme à veder voi.
 Qui giace quel che cantò il seme di Raggiato;
 Fermate passi al suo Sepolcro avanti:
 Dite, e pur in parte direte il Vero.
 Che n' quanto è sotto al grand peso d'Atlante,
 Non fu di Cintio al sacro regno,
 Spirto piu bel, nè piu sublime ingegno.*

To those celebrated persons, of whose birth Ferrara makes its boast, may be added the famous Savonarola, cardinal Bentivoglio and father Riccioli, the eminent astronomer and mathematician.

The cathedral of Ferrara in its present modern form, and both the town and country palace of the archbishop, were the works of cardinal Rufo, dean of the sacred college, who died in our time. What Ferrara is daily losing of its grandeur in Sostanza, by the decrease of its inhabitants, is made up, as much as can be, by a grandeur in Apparenza, which this cardinal has secured to it, by procuring it the title of an archbishoprick.

It had formerly a painting school, of which it has preserved some valuable monuments in the works of the Dossi's, the Scarfellini's, the Bonnoni's and painters, of whom we have a history by Abbe Barufaldi. The manner of this school appeared to me, as far as I am a judge, a happy mixture of
the

the Venetian taste and that of the Carrachi's. Some churches, such as St. Francis and St. Mary of the Angels, are like academies, in which the works of the Ferrarese painters are confusedly intermixed with pieces of the Carrachi's, Guerchini's, &c. and make a good figure among them. The church of the Benedictines in the first chapel on the left has St. Jerome; which immediately fixed my attention, and I several times visited it with fresh pleasure. Few pictures have ever come in my way, where all the parts of painting, and their most happy effects, are united in so striking a manner.

None of our predecessors, in a journey through Italy, has forgot the life of Jesus Christ, in a series of paintings distributed among the chapels of the church of the Carthusians. These pieces, which seem to be all by the same hand, look rather like colourings spattered on a ground of pitch than paintings. I take them to have been done by some of the fathers of the house.

On this head, I cannot forbear expressing a concern, that painting and drawing are not usually made one of the works of amusement, which St. Bruno allows to his disciples. The fine prints with which the Carthusians adorn their cells, the excellent paintings in many of their houses, the old and the new testament, the most familiar object of their meditations, opening an immense field both for the crayon and pencil, seem a foundation for a school, where the ideas concentrated by solitude, nourished by reflections, remote from all distractions, and likewise free from that wretched thralldom to masters and patrons,

might take those happy flights which produce master-pieces. It must certainly be apprehended that this work, permitted only as an amusement, would degenerate into an occupation. This, with submission, is an idle sort of fear in a state of life, where the vacuity of the head is a danger ever present, and the very greatest danger, at least for the generality of the monks.

I shall now take my final leave of Ferrara, with a word or two of a little extortion which we met with on passing through it a second time, in our way from Venice to Rome.

We had come post to Ferrara, and afterwards gone from it by water to Venice, and were returned from Venice to Ferrara the same way. Our chaise we had left at Ferrara, having agreed with the postmaster, at whose inn we had quartered, for a shelter for it during our absence. Some days before our return a new legate was come to Ferrara, with a great many equipages, drawn by hackney horses, whose owners were looking out for returns to Rome. One of these offered us horses for our chaise, and, after wavering a day or two, we came to an agreement with him, but had afterwards very great cause heartily to repent of it, both on account of the inconveniencies to which our conductor designedly put us, during the whole journey, and even of the charge, which, every thing included, exceeded the post. We were just setting out for Rome; our portmanteaus were placed, the house was discharged, and the horses at the door; when in comes the ostler, acquainting us, that besides our chaise standing, we must pay the post three times, though we had not gone that way, for

as we had come to Ferrara post, we were not to have made use of any other voiture in going to Venice, in returning from thence, and lastly in our quitting Ferrara.

The demand was founded in this, throughout the pope's dominions, as in most of the Italian states; travellers coming to a place by post, and leaving it within two days, are obliged either to take post, or to pay for it, if going by any other conveyance. Coming up in the midst of the discussion occasioned by such an exaction, I represented that, as we had staid eight days at Ferrara, and had left our chaise there for a whole month, while at Venice, we were not within that rule; at length thinking to give more than could be required, I offered to pay the post once; but the extortion intended us was a thing settled, and my offers were as little minded as my representations. On this I hastened to the legate's palace, where I promised myself justice. The first office I applied to, was that of the legate's secretary, a very smart polite young man. He soon perceived my case, pitied the ill usage travellers underwent, and gave me to hope that I should be righted. The legate, to whom I was afterwards introduced, referred me to his auditor, who it seems took cognizance of all such particulars. This worthy sage of the law was at his desk busied about an affair, of which I patiently waited the end; but now and then he cast a look at me, *con l'occhio dele canone*, as the devil looks over Lincoln, and his inauspicious looks sufficiently prognosticated his decision. Afterwards he came up to me with the mien and voice of an attorney to a ruined client, and taking me
for

for a Frenchman, *Voi Francesi*, said he abruptly, *v'immaginate che tutto il mondo sia il vostro schiavo*, you fancy all the world to be your slaves; at this comes forth from his closet the post-master. Such an apparition at once put an end to all expostulation, and I cut short, saying to the auditor, in a word, sir, I come to solicit justice for an injury which this honourable gentleman intends against us, and with which he has, no doubt, made you acquainted. Are we to pay him the post three times, or twenty times? *Tre*, replied he, *o che la sedia resti*, i. e. three times or the chaise shall not stir: at this I threw down three sequins on the desk, saying, that the overplus should be for *la buona mancia*, for the guide to drink; and we went away reflecting on that time celebrated by Brantome, when Ferrara for *courtesy, civility, and politeness was the mirror of the world*, especially to the French (a).

These particulars may, perhaps, appear light and superfluous; but, besides not being void of instruction to travellers, they make amends for the too great seriousness of other articles.

I have perhaps already said too much of our going from Ferrara to Venice by water. The

(a) We had been perpetually reminded of this by our landlord's father, an old hunk always sitting with his nose over the fire. This snarling grey-beard honoured the French with the most virulent hatred an Italian is susceptible of against his worst enemy; if he saw or did but hear, either our servants or ourselves, he flew into a passion, and no name nor wish was bad enough for us. These were the things he was continually harping on, whilst we only made a jest of his malignity. But as misfortunes are not without their use, this doggedness had prepared me for the auditor's reception.

first

first three miles from Ferrara we went in a boat, along a canal which unites the first arm of the Po to its principal bed; here we were shipped into a large bark or galliot, crouded with goods and passengers picked up along the great Po. There were some Mantua Jews, Verona Cordeliers, Italian fathers of St. Lazarus, going to Venice about erecting a house of their order in that city: each of these groupés kept by themselves and took their meals at different times. The Jews were pleased to cast an eye of predilection on me, which they shewed in pressing me to partake of some little pastry ware in their way, and an excellent rough wine, which was part of their store. I complied for the sake of good fellowship, and this commensality exhilarated our other fellow travellers, so that, to make the more sport, it was even moved to intimate to my new acquaintance, that I was a rabbi, travelling incognito; indeed, my only garment was a shabby sort of a riding coat, and this, doubtless, was what at first attracted their eye and gained me their good-will. This joke bid fair for much merriment, but the cordeliers took offence at it; *those creatures*, said the reverend fathers, *are our slaves, and it does not become masters to converse, much less to jest with their slaves.* Being desirous, however, of making something of the Lazarists, who were so full of their project, that they kept their places in profound silence, I represented to them what a favourable opportunity here was of throwing out a word of edification to the Jews, and trying to convert them: *Domine*, answered they, *non solumus hic pro hoc.*

After a very indifferent night in this vehicle, the dawn and sun-rising opened to us as glorious a spectacle as the richest imagination can form. We were then launching out of the Po into the sea off Loréo. Near Malamocco, where we came in sight of Venice, we were boarded and searched by the custom-house officers, able bodied fellows, who originally had been watermen, and still preserved the garb of their primitive station. Not a word do they utter, while they are searching, a duty they perform with great strictness, sounding with long stilettos such bales and trunks as cannot be conveniently opened. I observed, that all the while, they eyed the countenances of the passengers full as much as the cloaths and goods. We entered the great canal of Venice about seven o'clock in the evening, on the 29th of July 1758.

V E N I C E.

This city is a mystery, both in its situation and political constitution; but a mystery long since cleared up in a multitude of writings, which have either laid open the very complicated springs of the Venetian government, or indicated the singularities in which art and nature have joined to embellish this city.

Yet, how conversant soever a person is with these writings, he cannot forbear being surprized at the first view, a view indeed beyond any ideas arising from the best relations and descriptions, or even beyond imagination.

We

We, at least, were lost in astonishment, and, without pretending to any new discoveries, employed ourselves only in tracing and verifying the observations of others, so that this article will contain only common and trivial things, with no other merit than accuracy and truth; and I shall set them down without order or connection, just as chance threw them in our way.

The arms of France, an inn where we took up our quarters, engaged our first observations; here we found different sorts of people, with whom we lived, as far as it suited us.

One of the guests was a young Spanish officer, who, by a privilege of which there are but two precedents, had obtained leave of his court to be absent from his regiment, and to go abroad. Such an extraordinary leave had, doubtless, some secret commission in view; and a secret it might have remained for me; however, dreading the very shadow of being discovered, he shifted his quarters, and thus we lost a very sensible and entertaining companion.

The lawyer (*a*) Goldoni, Scarlati the celebrated musician, and a young burgher of Bale, made up for those acquaintances to which we were not disposed, and likewise for the loss of the Spanish officer. The first, besides his very eminent talents, is of a temper and turn of mind so serene,

(*a*) The Italian has nothing of the whimsicalness of the French language, with regard to placing the ranks and stations, with the names of persons. For instance, the French say, president N. marshal N. cardinal N. whereas to say bishop N. counsellor N. lawyer N. col. N. capt. N. imply contempt. In Italian all titles precede the names with equal decency.

so open and pleasing, as would conciliate esteem and affection, if he had nothing else to recommend him. A Plautus, a Terence, and a Moliere, form his whole library, and the world and mankind are what he chiefly studies. From that inexhaustible mine, his keen and experienced penetration readily embellishes his compositions with characters ever real, with all the light gradations which passions throw on every character, and with very striking situations yet as natural: lastly, with those fooleries which are perpetually springing up amidst the world, but, not being taken notice of, expire in the birth (a). In a word, Goldoni is fertile, simple, and various, as nature itself; but as unequal and uncultivated. For readily he never had his fellow.

A petty apothecary, whom a foreigner had made use of, in the want of his money, used to be daily coming to us with bill in hand, plaguing us about this debt. One day finding Goldoni in our apartment, he begged him to stand his friend; accordingly, Goldoni bethought himself of writing in the apothecary's name to the cardinal minister for foreign affairs at Versailles, and calling for pen and paper, wrote him, off hand, an excellent piece of drollery, in a letter of four large pages well filled; it was a string of jests. Goldoni is come to be an architect by plastering, that is, by copying when he was a youth, and then hazarding some stop-gaps of his own for companies of Italian

(a) It is of this kind of wit that Mr. Pascal used to say, "the more wit one has, the more originals one finds among men, whereas your common people discern no difference between men."

Goldoni

strollers.

strollers. He acquainted us, that above all things, he longed to go to Paris, purely to study the French taste and manners, with a view to retouch, and even cast anew some of the pieces he has published, to publish more; and, for the entertainment of France and the honour of Italy, to open in the Burgundy-hotel a career, both more extensive and more brilliant, than that in which the Italian comedians have drawled on ever since their settlement in France. I was not wanting, even while at Venice, to communicate this scheme to one whom I thought a proper person, but he declined it, and it seems from reasons of devotion. Sometimes we spent whole days with this Venetian Moliere, who shewed us a real affection. These days used to begin by drinking chocolate with him, and concluded with public or private concerts, to which, under his auspices, we were readily admitted. One of these evenings was filled up with a comic opera. Goldoni and Scarlati, unwilling that we should go away without seeing something of their stage, all the theatres being then shut, had been at the trouble of getting together a chosen set of actors, who played one of their best pieces of this sort, in the hall of St. John Chrysostom's theatre (a).

(a) At Venice are seven or eight theatres, belonging to the most eminent families, who let them out, and indeed are often at the head of partnerships who defray the expences, and receive the profits of the theatres; these are called by the name of the church to which they are nearest. Though they open at the same hour, sometimes all are crowded. The cause of such a resort is, that the theatres act only about four months in the whole year.

Goldoni

Goldoni made us acquainted with some of his intimates, persons of the same turn of mind and genius as himself. Of these, one of the principal was a painter, who, being fond of travelling, had gone into Germany when but a boy, and scarce fit to paint a sign. Many had been the adventures which he met with, and he used to tell them with a spirit and humour ever new, even to Goldoni himself. In other respects we lived as all foreigners do at Venice. The days were taken up in excursions, with our book in our hand, reading in our Gondola, the description of every object of curiosity, in order to our viewing it to greater advantage. Every evening St. Mark's square was our constant rendezvous.

In this season the *Relaters* had possession of it, a kind of mountebanks who half naked relate *con parole schiette* (a), and with all the action, heat, and pathos of the buskin, a thousand wonderful strange events: every narrative lasts just as the speaker pleases; the people stand round with their arms across, their legs sprawling, their eyes on the ground, and listening with the greatest attention. Between the legs of the most forward in the circle, children squat themselves down, and shew the same attention. Very often persons of credit, and even nobles mingle in the crowd. It was twice my lot to be the first butt of these narrations: the relater stopt me saying, *Signor che ascolti una gran cosa, una cosa stupenda* (b), then drawing back from me, he spoke or rather roared like a

(a) In a terse language.

(b) Sir, stay and hear something really great, something amazing.

demoniac;

demoniac, and the circle soon gathered. These orators do not formally ask any thing of their audience; but, in the most interesting and pathetic parts, as when a princess drops a poniard, or with a noble indignation throws away a seductive letter, the relater's hat is made the poniard or letter, and thrown in the middle of the circle, with the inside always uppermost, and the audience are pretty liberal of their copper. The relater, without seeming to mind the contribution, or breaking off his story, takes up his hat, which he afterwards makes use of to heighten some new pathos. Goldoni was excellent in mimicking every particular of these mountebanks; it is his usual disguise, when he has a mind to partake of the entertainments which the Venetian nobility give in those fine houses on the banks of the Brenta.

We sometimes had the diversion of hearing in St. Mark's place, some man of the very lowest class, a shoemaker, a blacksmith, in his working cloaths, begin an *Aria*, in which he was soon joined by others of his stamp, thus singing this *Aria* in several parts, and with a justness and humour scarcely to be met with among people of the best fashion in our northern countries.

After taking the air and sharing the diversions of St. Mark's square, we used to adjourn to Pasquali, or some other bookseller's shop. These are the usual rendezvous for foreigners and nobles: here one meets with conversations sometimes very improving, sometimes copiously seasoned with Venetian salt, which favours much of Grecian Atticism and French gaiety without being either.

From

From Pasquali's shop we used, according to the custom of the country, to go and sup at a coffee-house.

That which we used was kept by a Greek, under the new *Procurazias*, and for a waiter he had a young countryman of his, whose head, ever close shaved and bare, was, in its exact roundness, the symbol of his mind; and his neck, likewise bare, seemed by its diameter to be part of his head. A shirt without collar or wristbands, and a Grecian pair of breeches, were all the cloaths he had brought from his country. Our dropping him now and then some *bajoccos*, and assuring him that, if he minded his business, we would make him doge, delighted him to such a degree, that he could not contain himself for joy at the first glimpse of us. Never did Momus himself laugh so heartily.

These suppers removed all my prejudices about the reserve to which the Venetians are tied down in news and politicks. Venice, in this point, is on a footing with every part of Italy. The talk of the whole company, who successively filled our coffee-house, turned on nothing else. They were glad or sorry at the news of the day; they affirmed or denied it according as it made for or against the party which each had espoused. The bulk of these politicians, divided between two parties, which at present set Europe in a flame, no farther concerned itself about any secondary power, than subordinately to the general interest of the alliance in which it was a party; but the shrewdest politicians, abstractively from alliances, espoused

espoused only the particular interest of one belligerent power: one was a *geniale Francese* without being an Austrian; another an Austrian, yet equally execrating Prussia, France and Russia; another was all for Prussia, yet cared not what became of England; another was a thorough Englishman, but indifferent about Prussia. The very neutral powers had both their warm friends and enemies. These different views and jarring interests, produced a clatter and cacophony which was highly entertaining to us, especially when a certain Venetian, an arch fellow, *gran furbo* (a), and who expressed much friendship for us, going up to each of these politicians, whispered to him some news, generally an extemporary invention, either to the disadvantage of that power of whom he was a professed *geniale*, or to the advantage of that nation whom he was known to hate.

At the time of our retiring from St. Mark's square, that is, about nine or ten o'clock at night, came on the ladies cheek by jole with their adorers; and there they spent the whole night sauntering about, and now and then taking short excursions in a gondola, never returning home on festivals till, forsooth, they had been at mass. It is only in this, that Venice now differs from the Venice of St. Didier, *la Haye*, *Misson*, *la Houssaie*, and all the travellers of the last century. Venetian gallantry, now broke loose from the shackles in which it languished, has even thrown off the precautions still retained in France. I forbear touching on many singular facts in this kind, which we

(a) The Italians use this expression in a good sense.

were informed of, confining myself to one which was notorious. The condition (a) of the courtizana, for say long time one of the greatest curiosities of Venice, was in such splendour at the beginning of this century, that an entertainment given by the women of that class to the prince of Denmark, quite eclipsed, both in sumptuousness and richness of dress and jewels, that which the ladies had given to the same prince a few years before.

That class now subsists only in books, and its mansions are reduced to nominal palaces and scandalous garrets. The state inquisition, besides animadverting on disorders, by which the honour of illustrious families may greatly suffer, keeps, likewise a watchful eye on the ladies, having any intercourse with foreign ministers, or their dependents, as being forbidden by the laws. In this case, such ladies remaining incorrigible after repeated notices and the most serious admonitions, are ordered to their country seats.

Revolutions in gallantry recoil on company keeping, and within about two centuries gallantry, and consequently company, have undergone three very signal revolutions at Venice. Before the Spaniards got footing in Italy, this charming country was divided among a multitude of petty princes, a voluptuous tribe, minding nothing but

(a) This condition was precisely that, in which the Lais, the Aspaias, the Leontiums, contributed to the illustration of the brilliant age of Athens; the very same as that in which Louis l'Amour, Ninon l'Enclos, and Maron de l'Orme made themselves a name which still subsists: a condition infinitely less dangerous to public morality than that of kept mistresses.

pleasure: the diversions of their courts, their family pleasures, were seasoned with that ease, openness, and hilarity, which always accompany a well settled confidence, and with a freedom not cramped by any mixture, or so much as the looks of foreigners. Venice, being surrounded with these petty states, the more readily gave into their manner, as it was perfectly in the Venetian taste; and this disposition was happily seconded by the riches with which Venice, at that time, might be said to overflow.

All this system of diversion and pleasure was overthrown by the vicinity of the Spaniards and of the courts of Vienna and Inspruck. The Spanish gravity, the austere ceremonial of the imperial and arch-ducal courts, excluded all gaiety, ease, and freedom: gallantry became a kind of juggle or ledgerdemain, and pleasure now no longer appeared but in a ruff; during this tristful epocha, every one in company assumed his real or imaginary grandeur; ceremony was every where the word; and even parties of pleasure were like Homer's combats, where the heroes, instead of fighting, displayed their genealogy, and vaunted the prowess of their ancestors.

The beginning of this century, the elector of Bavaria's long stay at Venice, and the example of some gentlemen who had seen Paris, and were much taken with it, introduced the French gallantry among the Venetians; not that gallantry now in vogue, but that introduced by madame Royale at Turin, and of which Hamilton has given such a facetious account, viz. the gallantry of Lewis the XIVth's minority. All Venice used to have

their meetings almost every night; the scene of the nobility's pleasure was among their own body: love was the more barefaced, from its objects being lost in a croud; and jealousy, perplexed, or put on a wrong scent by the universal pursuit of pleasure, and often meeting with a compensation in fortuitous gratifications, gave over shewing itself.

Unfortunately what had lulled asleep men's jealousy, roused and stimulated that of the women, and thus, thirty years ago, put an end to a mode of deportment, which, for society's sake, should have been kept up to this day. Private connections have superseded the general system: every one, taken up with the object of a real passion or a transitory liking, amuses himself like a governor confined within his fortress in time of peace. All social entertainments are proscribed; the disgrace of wives and of husbands too is notorious, and as it were posted up; and jealousy, when irritated, now well knows where to strike.

In the present state of things, a noble Venetian, with whose station, age, or disposition, the part of a lover does not suit, is lost to company. Under the first of the epochas before mentioned, there he had, at least, the amusement of the courtezans, which now is no more. This total want of pleasures is come to affect the very constitution of the state. It has silenced the law by which the nobility were forbid all intercourse with one another. The state indeed looks to their connections, allows of them only among such whom it is sure of, and every club or meeting is circumscribed within a number which it must not exceed.

exceed. But are all these precautions equivalent to a law, of which all perpetually felt the hardship, and which yet all respected as essential to the constitution of the state?

The law against the nobility's having any intercourse with foreigners remains without any repeal or alteration; indeed, besides reasons of state, private interest joins to maintain it, especially the wealth of Venice being so much diminished, that oeconomy is become of absolute necessity to the greatest part of the noble families. The same recommendations by which all the palaces of Italy, and the hearts of many Italians were open to me, I had to one of the two avogadors, and to some senators; yet never could I see these gentlemen, but in our nightly meetings at Pasquali's, and sometimes at the palace. In these casual interviews, nothing could be more polite and obliging; they always satisfied me in the most genteel manner concerning my questions; they should be glad to serve me in any thing within their power; but this was all the best recommendations could procure me.

To them, however, I was indebted for entrance into the Pregadi-hall, at a session of the great council, that is, of the whole republic solemnly assembled. We were detained in the lobby for a quarter of an hour, which, as word was brought us, was taken up in balloting, whether we should be admitted. I questioned a little whether this was in good earnest; still is it a very prudent way for reserving to themselves the power of not admitting every foreigner that is proposed.

On our admission we were placed, or rather cocked up on the third story of the seats against the wall fronting the harbour. On this seat were only ourselves and a lawyer of Rome with his wife, a very fine woman and extremely well dressed; and who, as we were afterwards informed, had not come to Venice only to see St. Mark. Being seated ten or twelve feet above the floor of the hall, we could see and hear every thing, but not hold any regular conversation.

Before making any particular use of my eyes, I gave myself up to the sentiments of veneration, which the sight of the most august assembly in the universe raises in the soul; and these were heightened by two masterpieces of Palma and Tintoret, close before us. In the former, under a splendid canopy floating on the aerial expanse, is Venice, in a pacific character, crowned with olive, holding a scepter and sitting on a throne, the base of which is the beak of a ship and trophies; round the throne, as emblems of subdued nations, are prisoners and slaves with their fetters broken, and their sovereign looking down on them with a benign aspect. The other, in the centre of the ceiling, shews the queen of the Adriatic supported by Thetis and Cybele and encircled by deities paying homage to her. On the second compartment of this piece is the senate headed by the doge, to whom Venice sends a laurel wreath, by a lion near her, as waiting her commands. The first compartment is filled with a croud of ambassadors and deputies, who, in a suppliant manner, present to the republic the keys of their respective cities. The business of the council next

drew

drew my attention, and this was the election of a *capitan grande*, and other officers, for one of the principal places in the continental dominions. These elections are carried on by repeated scrutines, of which I could not but admire the dispatch, without clearly entering into the conduct of them, though I had studied it in Contareni, Granotti, and la Houssaie, all minutely particular in their account of this game, which, it seems, is to be learned only by practice. All the republick's deliberations go by ballot: it obtained perhaps, with less intricacy, in the ancient Greek republicks, and, if not in the Roman senate, at least in the comitia of the people; though Contareni looks on it, as a *veterum Romanorum usum longe remotum*. I only perceived that, for the places to be filled up, a certain number of competitors were immediately admitted, the first secretary of the council calling them with an audible voice, adding to their family name their christian name and that of their father. Each competitor is successively balloted for: several Charity boys, in purple gowns, each taking a box with a handle to it, and the inside divided into two partitions, carry these boxes along the seats, calling out the name of the person in question. All these boxes are afterwards carried back to the estrade before the throne, where those of the green partition, which denotes exclusion, and those of the white, which declares for admission, are separately told over. During this enumeration, the nobles quit their seats, run about, call to one another, talk together, eat biscuit, and drink wine or ratafia, which they bring in their large cap. Afterwards, at the stroke of a wand, a new name

is called over, and the troop of *Ballottini*, i. e. the charity-boys, set off again from the throne bawling out the new name. Every one now returns to his place, talks with his neighbour, or jokes with the *Ballottino*, who delivers to him the box and the ballot; and, amidst talking and joking, without seeming to mind any thing of the scrutiny, the noble conveys his hand into the box through an horizontal aperture communicating with the two partitions; in one of which he drops his ballot, and he must be keen sighted indeed who can perceive any thing of what passes between the hand and the partition. After all this apparent complexity, interest and long practice penetrate into all its mazes, so that very often this mysterious scrutiny is only matter of form.

During the interludes of this meeting, which lasted above three hours, a senator, a very handsome man, and with a glib tongue, kept talking in the Venetian way, with the Roman lady who had been cocked up with us; now the Venetian way is saying drolleries with the profoundest gravity. The lady's answers were in the Roman pronunciation and choice language, but not the same atticism.

At going out of the hall the same noble asked me how I liked what I had seen. I answered, mightily, both as a perfect novelty, and as reminding me of several states in Europe, the best heads of which could not go through such a meeting, whatever lay at stake. *E per questo*, replied the noble making off, *quelli stati non fanno governarsi* (a).

(a) Then those states know not how to govern themselves.

The

The doge, Francesco Loredano, had not been present; but some days after, being quite alone in that same hall, viewing the pictures which adorn every part of it, I heard a noise, and quickly turning about, there was the doge going across with only two or three attendants. A fine old gentleman indeed, with all the freshness of sixty, at the advanced age of fourscore, tall and strait. His locks were of a silver white, pretty full, and ending in ringlets, which, from his face, hung down his shoulders. He had on the ducal cap, or *Corno*, and a very full scarlet gown, lined and faced with another colour. I was quite amazed at hearing he was blind; it was what could not be thought from the appearance of his eyes and the firmness of his head. I suppose the sudden appearance of some deity must have had some such effect on the primitive mortals as this had on me; I was struck with wonder and respect.

I forgot mentioning that at the head of the seats which fill the Pregadi-hall, lengthwise, not transversally as in churches, there is a kind of fir pulpit quite plain, as are the seats and the very throne. This pulpit is the *rostrum*, where every noble, on the proposal of any law, or on any other deliberation, may display his elocution, a momentous part of the Venetian genius. Sometimes, to open a field for this elocution, and, at the same time, to rouse the people and bind them more and more to the state, new taxes are proposed, which, after many long speeches *pro* and *con*, and ballottings without end, are rejected by a great majority.

R 4

Whilst

Whilst the Pregadis is setting, the nobility's bancarolles, or watermen, with their gondolas, lye along the canal behind the palace, and the key facing St. Mark's square. The gondoliers account themselves the second body of the state, and the natural defenders of the first, in case of any insurrection against it, whilst shut up in the palace; but it is chiefly in the winter Pregadis, as often sitting very late, that their vigilance distinguishes itself. Every one keeps himself look out and stands to his post without any murmur or impatience, taking a pride in serving the state, or, to use their phrase, *per il principe*: being both the instruments and confidants of the nobility's pleasures, and spies to the ministry, there is not one who does not fancy himself to be in the secret of the state. Yet do they treat with the most open familiarity those of their profession, who, in the want of a settled service, hire themselves for jobs; and all look on one another as brothers. This is the usual term among them; they use it at meeting one another on the water; it is their common cry when near a canal into which they are both going, *per me, fradel, per me*. In all words, all parts ring with this compellation amidst the confusions which are not uncommon by the accidental concourse of several gondolas in some Canal, where there was before a stop. *fradel*, say they, to one another, *non travagliar, non strascissar i poveri Christiani*. From the civility of these people, and the savageness of the coach and carmen of Paris and London on the like occasions, the Venice gondoliers might be taken for religious and

and holy persons, who, like St. Christopher, ferry over travellers out of charity; and from a principle of religion. This difference of language and behaviour is principally owing to the sobriety of the latter, a virtue so general in Italy, that, during my stay beyond the Alps, I never saw a man drunk, not even amidst the meanest of the people.

I shall dismiss this subject with observing that the Gondoliers are a well made, robust, and very active race, and not without their share of Venetian sprightliness. Being continually either with the nobles, or the most substantial citizens and foreigners of distinction, who daily arrive at Venice, they often contribute to the conversation by strictures of pleasantry, in which they are allowed no small freedom, as a few instances will shew.

The streets of Venice are lighted with very small lanthorns, like those in the streets of Paris. A nobleman going along a street where a gondolier was hanging up one, told him to raise it higher; it is high enough, answered the gondolier, for the horns of such as we, but if too low for your excellency I will lift it higher. His excellency went off, and hastened to entertain his friends with the gondolier's joke.

On St. Roch's day the stonry goes in station to that saint's church. This ceremony is performed one another, non travagliar, non farci.

On that day the painters of the present school of Venice exhibit their annual performances in St. Roch's scuola. This scuola, one of the earliest in Venice, is full of New Testament paintings, by Pintoret, and in all worth of so great a master; the Annunciation I was particularly

formed in *Peotes*, or decked barges, something like the port *St. Paul's* large passage boats at Paris. I happened to meet this procession at a bridge under which it was going, in a pretty narrow canal. From this bridge two or three gondoliers, notable tongue-pads, fell foul of the state gondoliers, though carrying the signory, and who were not wanting to reply; making a stop, these gentry engaged each other with a fluency and spirit which drew the signory to the windows of the *Peotes*, where I saw these venerable personages wonderfully delighted with the altercation. In a word, the gondoliers have the exclusive privilege which the duke *de Roquelaure* enjoyed at the court of Lewis XIV. To them are attributed all the witty sayings, which, from decency or policy, the real fathers forbear owning. Such was that at the exaltation of the present pope, a Venetian, of which

lately taken with. The wall of the Virgin's chamber, towards the country, is falling down, and the angel with expanded wings comes flying through the breach. The exhibition for 1758 made no great figure, either for the number or excellency of the performances; the piece that pleased most was the portrait of the republic's head engineer. It seems, he was born of very mean parentage, and can neither read nor write; but pouring some wine on a table he traces out his designs to workmen, whom custom has taught to comprehend his ideas, and execute them to his intire satisfaction. Odd as such a way must seem, this new Archimedes reaches the utmost extent of mechanics; and such were the engineers of those rude ages, when the operation of military machines, and the construction of ships, and other buildings, were concerted in the head of artificers, whose knowledge went no farther than workmanship. Such a man, the picture at the door of St. Roch's *scuola* represented; that is, a great head-piece, under features nothing beyond common and a homely kind of appearance.

during

during our stay all Venice was full. After the rupture between the republic and Benedict XIV. which made so much noise, his irritated holiness did not confer the hat on any Venetian: this, and the exaltation of his successor, gave room for the following jest, said to come from a gondolier: we have been a long time without a hat, *ma habbiamo adesso il capelliere* (a).

The causes of this rupture were the same as those of the famous contest which Paul V. had carried so far; and between the effects there was no farther difference than what arose from the difference of times. By an edict, or decree, of the 7th of September 1734, posted up at Venice, proclaimed throughout all the republic's dominions, together with the reasons of it, and finally notified to the patriarch, the state forbid all application to Rome for obtaining any kind of dispensation which their ordinary could give, enjoining the ordinaries to grant such dispensations without any charge to the party; the whole, said the same decree, agreeable to the discipline settled by the council of Trent, and without expectation of any dispensations from the received ecclesiastical laws, of which, in his dominions, every christian prince is guardian and conservator.

This decree had kindled in the court of Rome an indignation which fastened even on Benedict XIV. himself, amidst all his aversion to business, and especially business of such a serious nature. He engaged in this with the greater heat, as it was doing violence to his natural disposition;

(a) But now we have the hatter.

but

but he hoped this way to make the shorter work of it. Mr. Cappello being at that time the republic's ambassador at Rome, the weight of this negotiation, and of the pope's resentment, fell on him. At first he bore up manfully, but either listening to proposals, or himself venturing to make some beyond his instructions, he was recalled and banished, together with his family, and no successor was nominated. Rome, at first, only held congregations, on the means of bringing the republic to repeal its decree: but all amicable ways having been employed to no purpose, it proceeded to those expedients in which formerly consisted its whole force. France had promised the pope all assistance within its power, for terminating this affair to the honour of the Holy See; but on the intimation of declaring war against the republic, the answer was, that nothing farther than good offices had been promised; and accordingly the ambassador, or his secretary, did make very strong remonstrances in the king's name; but to which the senate objected, both the liberties of the Gallican church, and the warmth and firmness of the kings of France in asserting those liberties. The senate growing more stiff instead of complying, Benedict XIV. reduced to act as a prince, broke all the commercial treaties between the republic and the apostolic chamber, gave orders for repairing his strong places on the Adriatic, settled funds for enlarging, and improving his ports on that sea, augmented the privileges of those ports, laid heavy duties on all goods coming from the republic's dominions; and, as

pope,

pope, never did prefer one Venetian to the purple.

In this critical condition were things at his demise: the decree subsisted and was strictly executed at Venice, when, on the 6th of July 1758, Cardinal Rezzonico, a Venetian and bishop of Padua, was elected successor to Benedict XIV. The new pope immediately notified his exaltation to the senate, and in his letter, which was intirely written with his own hand, he expressed a very strong desire of an accommodation, adding that his election was unquestionably among the views of providence, for bringing about so happy an event. This letter and some concomitant circumstances affected mens minds, and when the affair came on before the council, the debates were very warm. M. Tron, chief of the party which opposed the repeal of the decree, made a very long and nervous speech from the rostrum: at length it was resolved, that the decree should be suspended for four months, and those to be employed in securing and strengthening the rights of the state. This deliberation, which had kept the great council sitting no less than ten hours, being re-assumed the 5th of August, the repeal of the decree, after fresh debates, passed under the term of *suspensio prolongata*. Of this the senate acquainted the pope in a letter, withal observing that in his he had, as pope, acknowledged the republic's legislative authority in the objects of the decree, having requested it to repeal the said decree. By this turn Venice glori- in having maintained its ground so long, and at the same time complimented the pope in its season- able condescension, without prejudice to its rights.

All

All Rome, however, were not of that mind: many blamed the pope, as having been imposed on by a predilection for his country; and the sickness, which came on him soon after this accommodation, was construed to be the consequence and effect of some vexatious reflections, which had come too late; it was the general complaint that the whole advantage of the agreement lay on the Venetian side. Being at Venice during the last crisis of this great affair, we perceived that, after all the boasts of the secrets of the state being confined within the senate and the *prigadi*, the best part of them transpires. At the end of this work will be found the principal pieces relating to this remarkable transaction.

The respective pretensions of the popes and Venetians, and the contests springing from their contrariety, give the good Romans a disfavoured idea of the republic's religion, looking on her, if not an enemy to the popes, at least as one of their most disobedient and refractory daughters: *come sta il Papa Marco*, how fares pope Mark, is a question asked every Venetian who comes to Rome: in a word, the Romans account Venice to be still influenced by the spirit of the famous *fra Paolo Sarpi*, to whom the republic, though so much indebted to him, has not yet dared to erect a monument. The first time of my going to the Servites, I asked to see his monument: it must be a very fine one, said I to the Servite who was with me. To such a man, answered he, all or nothing, and the latter has been the thing. He afterwards shewed me the place where that celebrated

brated person had been interred, which was in the chancel on the left side of the altar, but without an epitaph, or so much as a distinguishing mark. Another time going by the same church, I went in, and found all the young persons of the community playing alternately on the organ. On my calling out to them *viva* and *bravo*, the prime hand sat down to the keys, and entertained me with five or six pieces of different solo's, all extremely well chosen and as well executed. Afterwards perceiving a ladder, set up to hang tapestries, near the place where *Fra Paolo* has in some measure consecrated the stiletto with which he was assassinated, and which he called *Stilum Rom. Curie*, I moved the ladder and got up to the weapon, which hangs at the feet of a large crucifix over one of the chapels on the right hand; as I was handling it, the young folks who were still at their music hollowed out, *Signor questo non è roba da Francese*; that's no French goods.

I was told at Venice that the originals of those writings, which so justly gained *Fra Paolo* his eminent reputation, and particularly that of his history of the council of Trent, are still in being, and preserved with great care in the *Venieri* family.

In our way from Venice to Rome, all the religious, whose churches and houses we visited, asked us with the greatest eagerness about the affair between Venice and Rome; How, said I to them, have you not heard the great news? This great news was, that at the desire of the republic, the pope, to confirm the reconciliation, was going to have *Fra. Paroli Sarpi* beatified;

once

since this news sat a little diminutive creature of a Servite a weeping most heartily for joy; and it took so well as to reach Rome before us.

In estimating the religion of Venice, by other reasons than those on which the Romans found their opinion of it, who can think amiss of a city with so many churches so richly adorned; so many parishes so well supplied with clergymen, such swarms of monks of all colours, and such a prodigious number of hospitals for all the necessities of human nature? As to the mind and heart of these, God alone is the competent judge; and in his sight, the love of one's country, as one of the first duties he enjoins, is unquestionably of some account. The clergy, indeed, has no part nor influence, so much as indirect, in any branch of the government; but this was bringing them back to their original institution. The parish priests are chosen by the parishoners; another primitive rule: as to religious houses, none but Venetians are admitted into them, and the jesuits are treated only as on a footing with all the regular clergy. They had set up to distinguish themselves from the other orders, by forbearing to attend at general processions, pretending that being both clerks and regulars, they could not walk either with the secular clergy, who looked on them as regulars, nor with the regulars, who accounted them but clerks of a late date, and would not allow them any rank. The republic, to put an end to this distinction, sent the jesuits this laconic message, *O andeve, O andeve*; either go, or begone; and by compromise, they have taken place between the

two fraternities instituted for assisting criminals under sentence of death: yet that they may not be without some distinction in solemnities, they walk three a-breast.

The offices and religious ceremonies, which the Italians comprehend under the generical name of *funzioni*, are as common and as pompous at Venice as all over Italy, and conducted with the strictest decency. Concerning this, I was told that at the exposition of the host in St. Mark's church, and at which the senate assisted, whilst the whole assembly were kneeling, an English gentleman remained standing. A senator sent to him to kneel, and his message not meeting with immediate compliance, he went himself. Sir, said the Englishman, I don't hold with transubstantiation. *Ne anche* warmly replied the senator, *pero ginacchione, o suor di chieson*.

Jews, Greeks, Armenians, even the very protestants (a) enjoy at Venice, the toleration which the pope himself grants to the Jews in all his dominions. These three sects have each their places of worship. The only point in which the Jews are restrained is burial, which is not allowed them within the compass of Venice and the adjacent islands, so that they are obliged to carry their dead ~~at~~ ^{to} the continent. One day, in our return from the Lido, where we sometimes used to bathe, we saw a Jewish funeral, consisting of

Not I neither, but down on your knees, or get out of the church.

(a) I have been told that protestants dying at Venice, are buried in the popish churches, without any inquiry into their belief.

about twenty persons going in an open boat to inter one of their deceased brethren, possibly, this practice of the Jews may be owing to humour; or be founded on some points of the law or talimud; it is only the fact that I am certain of.

The Greeks have an Archbishop, who besides exercising all the episcopal functions, has even a seminary composed of young persons, natives of Greece, or of the Archipelago islands. He happened to officiate the day that I went to their church, and it was my good fortune to take my seat next to a young papas, who was of very great use to me, in explaining the ceremonies of their worship. The intervals of my questions were taken up with a continual conversation; he informed me, that he was born on the ancient confines of Epirus and Thessalia, in the very place where resided the famous oracle of Dodona, and that he had an elder brother, a captain in the royal Macedonian regiment, in the service of the king of Naples: he offered me his recommendation to that brother, which I promised to accept of; and, to complete his civility, he urged me in the most obliging manner to come and see him at his house, to which he gave me a direction. In the mean time, I was not wanting to observe all the ceremonies of the office; every Greek, whether layman or ecclesiastic, on his entrance into the church, stopped in the middle of the choir, where slightly bending his body and looking to the door of the chancel, in which is the only altar belonging to this church, he made a sign of the cross.

cross, beginning with his thumb on his head, then from the right to the left, and from thence, with a peculiar gracefulness, drawing it down to his knees, and these motions were repeated several times. Afterwards going up to the chancel, he kissed; with the greatest marks of veneration, the pictures against the wall, which conceals from the choir and the people what is doing in the chancel. These ceremonies being gone through, he withdrew backwards to his seat. The archbishop himself being come, at the head of his seminary, performed all the like ceremonies before putting on his pontificalia. Among the seminarists who attended on him, my papas pointed out to me two young Athenians, whom, by their countenance, I should really have taken for plump jovial natives of Limoges: during the whole service the sanctuary is closely shut, opening only at short intervals for saying prayers over the people, which are accompanied with benedictions, and for taking in the elements which are to be consecrated; the choir and all the people paying more veneration to those elements than when consecrated. The office is composed of psalmody performed by the choir, and prayers, which are sung by the officiating priest within the chancel: these prayers are of St. John Chrysostome, and have all the energy and loftiness which that kind of composition admits of. Whilst the choir is singing, some boys likewise within the sanctuary strain their voices in *Kyrie eleisons* and *Amens*, not the least corresponding with the public singing, which goes on amidst all this bawling. The chancel's being shut during the whole service surprised me the more, having heard some persons in

France say, that it was quite otherwise in the primitive church, to the rites of which, according to the very same persons, none had so faithfully adhered as the Greeks. However, the Greeks of Venice are among those whom the Romans call schismatic's.

My papas having so obligingly pressed me to come and see him at his house, I called there three or four times, but to no purpose; afterwards I casually understood that he had a young wife, to whom he had given notice of my visit; and she had expressed such curiosity and eagerness to see one, whom they thought a Frenchman, that the papas had judged it behoved him to deprive himself of the pleasure of entertaining me.

The Armenian church, which is not so large as that of the Greeks, has two altars, one in the sanctuary, which is as closely shut as that of the Greeks, and the other about the middle of the church for private masses. I was there one Sunday, and the service lasted from seven in the morning till past noon. The whole was performed in the chancel; that is, perhaps for want of priests, there was no psalmody nor prayers chanted in the choir. The ceremonies exhibited in the sight of the people, intirely concentrated in a spark of the age and make of the young Greek our coffee-house waiter: this minute he was in a common garb, then in a surplice, next in a dalmatic, and not less than twenty times did he thus shift his decorations; sometimes he was lighting tapers and then quenching them, and sometimes running about the church with a banner; the intervals of rest he made use of

to put his fleas to the rout, or wipe off his snivel with his under lip. At times the archbishop was heard chanting the service in the chancel, which now and then was opened, but as it were only to be shut again. This prelate was a little man but of a very smart and pleasing aspect; nothing can be richer than his pontifical vestments; his mitre indeed was a kind of a black trencher cap, such as is used in Switzerland. About the middle of the office a papas, in a chasuble or cope, after the manner of the Latins, came and said a low mass at the second altar; his air, his whole appearance, and the several attitudes during the service, had all that dignity and gracefulness, which the painters term the high style; his beard being very long and white as snow itself, gave me to perceive that this was an ornament which the Doge still wanted. All my company during this tedious office, was only a parcel of old women, who, like so many jewelless, for ruffles wore old sheep skins with the wool outward, and their clacks were perpetually going either about family quarrels or concerns of the neighbourhood.

I was told that the Greeks and Armenians had only private instructions concerning religion; possibly, public may be used among them in other parts, as here the State requires nothing farther from them, than to be silent in the articles in which they differ from the Roman church: whereas the Roman catholics are crammed with instructions, if that name may be given either to the kind of homilies calculated for the people, or the premeditated sermons, in which, for the

entertainment of the nobility and persons of fashion, the preacher displays all the pomp of the Ultra montane elocution.

As a sample of the former, I shall only mention that, one evening, the throng of people, as it were, bore me into a church where a great festival was celebrating in honour of the Rosary. A Dominican friar of a respectable physiognomy preached, and in the accent, vehemence, gestures, and prolixity of one of the St. Marks Square's relators, he entertained his audience with a heap of tales, which may be judged of by the following. A highwayman, who never stuck at murdering any one that fell into his hands, was withal very punctual in not letting a day pass without saying his rosary; but once a traveller, whom he attacked, standing on his defence killed him; he died without confession, and his body, which the soul would not quit, his companions buried at the foot of an oak. Some months after St. Dominic appeared on this spot, and called on the robber by his name. The deceased immediately removed the earth which covered him, came out of the grave, and fell down at St. Dominic's feet; the saint confessed him, and, having absolved him, took his soul with him to paradise. It gave me a sensible concern that a priest, a religious of an order of learned men, and a divine by profession, should thus copy public montebanks; indeed, in the course of my travels, I have met with many more such subjects of concern.

As a specimen of the premeditated sermons, I have inserted one at the end of the second volume, from the printed copy with which lawyer Goldoni favoured

favoured me: this sermon, which was preached by the famous father Macedo, on whom the last edition of Morery bestows a very particular article, is a sad instance of the excesses proceeding from an abuse of genius; and to what a degree it prevailed among the Italians, when weary of the master-pieces, and disgusted with the noble simplicity of the *cinque cento*, which to them was what the age of Lewis XIV. has been to France, nothing would go down with them but wit, and the capital beauty of composition was a gaudy quaint style, and every sentence an epigram. This sermon, being preached in 1674 or 1675, is contemporary with the noble productions of Bossuet, Flechier, and Bourdaloue. Foreigners, however conversant with the Italian, need not be ashamed if they can make little or nothing of this singular piece, the greater part of it being a riddle to Goldoni himself. At Venice, and over all Italy, the preachers have for some time been endeavouring to return into fair nature's path; but how far are they yet from their scope! The French pulpit-mongers, whom they take for their models, will never forward them in such good intentions, by their jejune divisions and subdivisions of which they spin out their discourses. French elocution is like those Athenian girls, who, according to Menander, as copied by Terence,

Matres esse student

Demissis humeris, victo pectore, ut gracies sent.

*Si qua habitior paulo, pugilem esse arunt, deducunt
libum.*

Tameſi bona eſt natura, readunt curatura juncas.

On holidays and Sundays, it is only some good souls, whose intire confidence is placed in the priest, who attend the morning parochial service; the Scuole and the Monks shate the remainder of the people, among whom every family owns no other parish than the church to which the confessor of its head belongs. The *oratorio* performed by the *conservatori*, every body makes the afternoon service. In these *conservatories*, of which some aged senators take on themselves the management, female orphans or foundlings are maintained, brought up under the best masters, and portioned; each of these foundations being very plentifully endowed. The tendency of the education, however, seems rather to make Laisses and Aspasiats, than nuns or mothers of families, and the capital part of it is music. These *conservatories* have alternately vespers in music, very finely performed, and concluding with a grand motet, which is sold by women who let chairs to sit on; the words are nothing but a most wretched uncouth jumble of Latin phrases in rhyme, and stuffed rather with barbarisms and solecisms, than any thing of sense and propriety; indeed the author is generally the sexton. On this paltry ground, however, is wrought the most delicate music, of which both the vocal and instrumental parts are performed only by the girls of the house (whom you see through the grate, which is hung with a very light trape) fluttering about and throwing themselves into all the attitudes required in the execution of the most spirited music. The whole is generally in the Italian manner; that is, without hand, stood about both grates.

but beating time. One of these motets, at which we were present, in a great measure imitated, Scarlatti beating time in the Neapolitan way; that lifting up his hand where, in all the other parts of Italy, the stroke is used. The festivals of the patrons of convents, of which the number is so great at Venice, are celebrated by solemn offices in music, which are generally composed for a particular festival. On St. Laurence's day, we attended one of these offices in the church of the nuns, whose monastery bears the name of that saint. The orchestra, which was directed by the famous Saffone, who had likewise composed the music, consisted of four hundred voices and instruments chosen from among the virtuosi of Italy, who flocked to Venice for this festival; this orchestra was at the back of the great door facing the altar, and took up the whole breadth of the church, though exceeding its length; it was raised about twelve feet from the floor, and divided into symmetrical compartments very elegantly decorated, as were the pillars, with ribbons, garlands, festoons, and linen folded into various figures. In the church were placed several rows of chairs, but with the backs to the altar, and in this odd position did they remain even during the high mass, which lasted five long hours, and as hot as it was possible to be even at Venice in the month of August. The nuns, who were all ladies of quality, did nothing but go and come to two large grates on each side of the altar, talking and presenting refreshments to gentlemen and abbess, who, all fan in hand, stood about both grates. The officiating

ciating priest and his assistants, who seldom or never stood up, and had only the backs of the congregation to look at, being in a bath of sweat, were continually wiping themselves, and seemed impatiently to long for dinner. The music and bustle had begun so early as the first vespers, which is not the least entertaining part of those festivals. On Assumption day we had a like exhibition in another monastery, and still more grand, the church being much larger; here the music was divided into two choirs, which in certain pieces joined: and all this music, with all the variety and complexness of its parts, is performed without beating time. All the composer has to do is, like a general of an army, to animate the combatants with his voice and gestures.

As to the beforementioned *Scuole*, they are associations or brotherhoods of laymen, meeting in particular chapels to perform the canonical service among themselves under *guardians* and *priors*, who are also laymen. These brotherhoods have very considerable funds, from which the commonwealth now and then make some draughts, or assigns them as sureties for loans. Most of these chapels are like great halls, embellished with performances of Paul Veronese, Titian, Palma, Tintoret, &c. Some Venetian historians date the establishment of these *Scuole* so far back as the 12th century. The State has been wanting in no precaution both to secure the freedom of these assemblies, and to prevent all the abuses which the republic might apprehend from them. *No quid detrimenti Respublica capiat.*

With

With equal attention does the state watch over the press. The censure of writings, even theological, belongs to the particular commission of the *Riformatori dello studio di Padoa*: answering to that *della Bestbemia*; which, if I am not mistaken, is the very council of Ten, in which, by that title, the state inquisition is united with the most important branch of the ecclesiastical. From this commission the press meets with all the indulgencies requisite to that kind of commerce. Every day it sends forth with approbation and permission translations of French works, which, even at Paris, durst not appear but under a tacit permission. Many Italian works, which speak very home both in argument and fact, are printed and sold with the government's connivance. Among these works I shall only name those of Muratori. His treatise on the *best devotion*, that is, against the devotion most common in Italy; that of the *defects of the law*, a very keen animadversion on the practice of courts of justice, and the negligence of princes in this article, &c. have been published by Pasquali with his name, as likewise the same author's dissertations on the *Italian antiquities of the middle age*, in which this author has literally followed the historian's capital law, *ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*. The sole precaution which Pasquali has made use of, with regard to the last work, was no more than making Milan the place of impression: *In Milano, à spese di J. B. Pasquale*. The same printer being, in 1730, about a very fine edition of Guiccardini, would have greatly

injured

injured it among foreigners, had he not added the two famous passages which are found printed at the end of *Iohannis rescriptus*, and which Chomedei has inserted in his old translation of Guiccardini. The inquisition at Rome had proscribed these two passages by a solemn decree of the 7th of April 1803, and they are prohibited all over Italy, as superlatively heretical. The method Parquall took to get them through was this; some days before the distribution of the first copies, he waited on the inspector of books, with a countenance full of concern. "I come, said he, to implore the whole authority *del Principe*, against a perfidy totally unprecedented in our profession; you are not ignorant of the very great charges I have been at about my Guiccardini, which, at length, is coming out. In order to make it the more known, and hasten the sale of it, I had sent some sheets to the principal bookellers in Europe; and what does an heretical scoundrel, a villain, one Pierre Gosse of the Hague do, but on that specimen he prints the *duoi Luoghi*, which you know! He has sent me some copies of them, and will certainly spread them among all those who buy my editions. *Caro Gian Battista*, replied the magistrate with an affected accent, I am sensible of the concern it must give you, but the ill being now past remedy, make yourself easy; besides, the testimony of your conscience may comfort you. On this buffoonry, which was equally well performed on both sides, the *duoi Luoghi* have passed, and Parquall has added them to his edition.

The

The first, which relates to Alexander VI. or rather the duke de Valentinois his son, is only an additional anecdote to the many infamies of that execrable pope.

The other which lays before the reader the several steps by which the popes gradually rose to their temporal aggrandisement, is a masterly piece, and the work of a pen well versed in handling facts, in unfolding them, digesting them, and placing them in their full light. I have not yet been thoroughly able to examine whether this piece be Guicciardini's or not. If it be an interpolation, as all the Italians will have it, it did not come from *Caelius Secundus Curia*, who translated Guicciardini into Latin, and was a thorough protestant, nor from any protestant of the 16th century; they wanted both that profound acquaintance with history, and the consistent impartiality so eminent in this detached piece. Now Fra Paolo was equally possessed of both, and, in my opinion, it may be attributed to him, without wronging his reputation or the fragment itself. It lay very much in his way, by means of his connections and correspondencies, to throw out this bone for the court of Rome to pick, without any suspicion of its coming from him.

Thus tractable and easy is the Venetian state inquisition, of which books give us such frightful accounts. It is neither more watchful nor more cruel than the police at Paris, the founder of which was a person to whom his family's connections with Venice were of no small use towards this important institution; and the famous

Canal Orfano here, into which people are thrown; fown in up a bag, has a pretty near affinity with the *Oubliettes*, where, according to the common opinion of the Parisians, those who fall under the government's suspicion are made away with. At the sight of the lion's mouths, always gaping to receive the *denuncie secrete* *, I only wondered at the patience of the *Sages*, who, by office, are obliged to swallow all the fooleries with which these mouths would be crammed, were not the Italians rather more circumspect in their writings than they are in their words.

If this precaution can be blameable it is in historians, whose writings are no farther the light of truth and the school of morality, than as they equally display and point out virtues and vices, successes and miscarriages, with their causes, both proximate and remote. Now this is the fault of the history of Venice, which has hitherto been nowhere written but under the eye of the republic, and indeed only as the republic would have it. This precaution, however, was baffled by the *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, a shaft which the court of Rome discharged at it. Venice was touched to the quick, and its wound required the most violent topic; this *Fra Paolo* applied by publishing his history of the council of Trent. Having myself occasion to probe her in a less ticklish part, I found a sensibility which I little expected. The case was this.

Before my leaving Paris I casually alighted on an historical and critical discussion of the mar-

* Underhand informations.

quis

quis de Bedemar's famous conspiracy against Venice in 1618, which the Abbe St. Real has so well described. The author of this discussion, who is a native of Champagne, having, from authorities, and most of them contemporary, proscribed the conspiracy as no more than one of those machines, which policy has in all ages played off, in his last examen fathers it on the Venetians, as a stratagem to send away the marquis of Bedemar, and at the same time rid themselves of certain suspected persons. Some very knowing in such affairs, after refuting this system, came into it and backed it by fresh authorities, which went so far as to throw on the whole of it a colouring of villany, from which the well meaning Champenois had cleared it.

Both these pieces I had with me, and, in order to get a thorough information of the fact, I spoke of it the very first time to the Avogador, to whom I had recommendations. He asked me with some uneasiness, whether that piece had any run in France? How it had been taken there? Whether I knew the author who had meddled with that topic? Whether he did not owe the republic, or some other Venetian, a grudge? However, added he, I have seen, perused, and weighed both the pieces; I may say that no body is in the way to give you the informations you desire better than myself; the very keeping of the state records is partly a branch of my office; I will get you the senate's leave to consult them, and then you may by your own eyes convince yourself, even as I did, that the abbe St. Real has written no-

• Trevoux journal, August 1756.

thing

thing but truth concerning our conspiracy in 1618. Some of the Avogador's acquaintance, of themselves, spoke to me in the same manner, complimenting me beforehand on the inestimable knowledge I should accumulate in the *Archivio*. The Avogador, to humour my eager curiosity, made several repeated appointments without keeping any. On my meeting him at any time, he would make a thousand excuses and promises, and, during the whole month I staid at Venice, this was all I could get from him. On the day before my departure, a friend of his asking me how I went on in the *Archivio*, I plainly told him the case; *Va fourbaio sto. for Angelo*, said he with a laugh, and squeezing my hand.

I have since met with in the closet of a French minister of state, who had few equals for knowledge, penetration, and judgment, some part of the informations relating to this object of my curiosity, which I had been disappointed of at Venice. In that closet did I see the very instructions which the marquis de Bedemar left for his successor in the embassy to Venice. He dwells much on the conspiracy of 1618, and looking on it in the same light as the author of the discursion, he combats it with all the improbabilities which that author has mentioned. In a word, he sees nothing farther in it than a contrivance, and such a one as could impose only on the Venetian commonalty; and, as such, the senate prudently took care to confine it within the Lagunas.

This instruction is likewise a full confirmation of the idea given by historians of the marquis de Bedemar's abilities. Let this passage serve for a specimen :

and specimen he recommends to his successor at Venice, above all things to study the intellects, genius, morals, inclinations, tastes, connections, views of fortune or ambition, and this not only of the heads of the nobility and the councils, but of every individual senator, as on their votes depend the Pregadi's deliberations. Of such advantages, says he, was this study, that by only knowing the object of the deliberations, I was at little loss about what turn they would take. Having information of the object, I used to withdraw to my closet, and there deducing the vote of every senator or noble from his temper, his person, his views and connections, &c. I used to determine what would be the upshot, and this, added he, was the very decree of the senate or the great council, so that I never was out but two or three times.

Whether M. de Montesquieu was carried to Venice by some such curiosity as mine, or confined himself to observations for his book on the *Spirit of Laws*, I know not; but it is certain he had been very inquisitive, and written a great deal about Venice; so that his papers, of which he made no secret, had alarmed the state. Of this, before he went away, some intimation was given him, and even with this notice, that it would be well for him if he was not seized in his going from Venice to Fuscina. Full of this advice, and the *Orfano Canal*, he set out, when near mid-way he saw making towards him other gondolas, which, when they were come up with him, instead of rowing on kept hovering about his gondola. This

VOL. I. T

threw the poor gentleman into such a fright, that, like the beaver when closely pressed by hunters, he drew out of his travelling bag all his papers relating to Venice; and threw them into the sea. I have been assured that nothing farther was intended than to try him, and that, had he waited their boarding him, he would have passed free, no order having been given for any such molestation.

The archives, of which I could not procure a sight, were busily turned over during our stay at Venice, concerning what it became the republic to do, with regard to the obsequies of the pope's mother. This being an event without a precedent, it was resolved that the republic should not concern itself about it. No consequences which might affect future times were to be apprehended here; but these wary republicans act only as authorized by examples, even in matters of no consequence, so that the pope's mother was interred, as if her son had been only bishop of Padua. She was past eighty: her joy at so very unexpected a turn of fortune, and at the compliments and congratulations from all parts on her son's exaltation, is said to have hastened her death. Her funeral was performed by the light of flambeaux, and with all the pomp which the sumptuary laws would admit of. The procession crossed St. Mark's square, where we had a sight of it.

I now come to the several master-pieces of art with which Venice is embellished. There are so many books on this head,

Notior ut non sit canibus jam Delia nostris.

But

But that which is most usually put into the hands of foreigners, is a collection printed in 1664, with the title of *Minere della Pittura*; and the mention of it brings to my mind the daily weariness with which it used to overwhelm us. Let the description of Paul Veronese's famous marriage of Cana, serve for a sample of this performance. *Nel refettorio di S. Giorgio maggiore, si vede quel sostanzioso convito che in luogo di satollare il gusto di chi si trova presente, sempre piu gli accresce l'appetito: cosa cosi rara, che anche chi la sente nominare, si rende cosi voglioso di goderla, che non stimando di partirsi da paesi piu lontani, corre a offerquiarla: tal che di continuo vi si vedono Principi e gran intendenti a pronunciar maraviglie. Non fa dunque di biogno, né é licito, che una lucciola, per cosi dire, voglia arrogarsi di lumeggiare quel splendente Apollo che abbaglia con suoi splendori ogni altra lucidissima stella**. The whole work is in the same formal, starched and pompous style.

Venice, so rich in paintings of its own school, and so bare in pieces of modern sculpture, has some antiques of the best times, and of the greatest beauty.

* In the refectory of St. Georgio maggiore, is that sumptuous banquet, which, so far from cloying the taste of those who are present, rather increases their appetite; a thing so very rare, that whoever hears of it becomes passionately desirous of enjoying it: even princes and persons of eminent genius eagerly resort from distant countries to admire it and proclaim its wonders; so that it is not necessary, neither indeed is it fitting, that a glow-worm should take on itself to illustrate the resurgent Apollo, whose radiance dazzle every other star, how lucid so ever.

Such are, 1st the two lions of different bigness at the gate of the arsenal. These lions came from Greece, and I have been told that the huge one is the very same which, in the prosperous times of Athens, stood at the point of the promontory *Sunium*, so famous in the history of that city; and on that account modern navigators had given it the name of *Capo-leone* or *Cape lion*. This lion, which is of the finest *Paros* marble, and squats on his posteriors, with his fore-legs erect, may, for dulness and stiffness, be almost compared to those old china lions, which are kept in some closets; *non est in toto corpore mica salis*: on comparing it with any little modern lion, we are amazed to see how far our artists are departed from the ancient simplicity, and how lavish they are of genius, where the Greeks were so sparing of it.

2d. Nero's horses, which after being carried from Rome to Constantinople by the first Christian emperor, were in 1208, brought from Constantinople to Venice. These horses, which are in exceeding good preservation, and now hoisted up over the front of St. Mark's cathedral, appeared to me of larger proportions, and of finer shape, than that of *Marcus Aurelius* in the capitol. Some remains are still seen of the gilding, which *Constantine's* magnificence and bad taste bestowed on them. Was it disdain or aversion to horses, that the *Venetians*, who are reckoned but indifferent horsemen, did not pitch on a better place for these valuable pieces? Let us rather suppose their desire was to shelter them from foreign incursions and intestine revolutions: but
pos-

possession, accompanied with so much apprehension, can scarce be called possession. The four corners of St. Mark's square, or fronting the church, over against those masts on which wave the republic's standards, offered a natural position for them; besides, these four horses, with that of general Coglione's (*a*) statue, are the only animals of this kind to be found in all Venice.

3. The collection of antiques, heaped together in the lobby of St. Mark's library. These are all Greek pieces, picked up in the Morea and the Archipelago islands, when belonging to the Venetians. Among several exquisite pieces, I took particular notice of a Leda carressed by the swan, which, under an attitude as simple as that of the lion at the arsenal, expresses in the most natural, true and vivid energy, that high luxuriousness, which was so long the soul of all Greece. This collection, now heaped together in a corner, would make a very noble gallery, each piece appearing to advantage by being seen every way. The Contareni family, who had collected these most valuable curiosities in the course of the 16th century, have dedicated them to their country and the

(*a*) This statue was erected in 1498, as the only reward this general required for his services. He was for having it in St. Mark's square, fronting the church, and the republic had given its word accordingly; but by a quibble little becoming the senate, it has been placed in a corner of the city, in a place indeed from whence general Coglione, whose arms are cut on the pedestal in speaking pieces, is looking towards the cupolas of St. Mark, which may be seen from thence. The senate has lately erected a monument to the memory of M. Schulemburg its last general, if it may be called a monument, being no more than an inscription, in the first court of the arsenal.

public, which however has but a very indifferent enjoyment of them, in such an improper situation. This family, the second in Venice for antiquity, and for arms and literature the most illustrious of any, is extremely fallen from its former splendor; at least to judge of it by the condition of a nobleman of this name, which I am told is very far from being equal to his rank, and whose whole appearance indeed shewed an object of pity.

4. A complete set of excellent copies of the *Museum Capitolinum*, and of the best antiques in Rome. I have mentioned, in the article of Bologna, the great expence the abbe count Farsetti was at in making this collection, and of the conditions on which Benedict XIV. permitted him to cause the museum of the capitol to be moulded.

Besides these antiques of the best times, Venice has others of the lower empire or the middle age. The treasury of St. Mark, so famous for its riches in this kind, consists of the share which fell to the Venetians in pillaging the palace of the emperors of Constantinople, when this city was taken and sacked in 1205, by their forces, in conjunction with those of the French. What the latter shared is now dispersed among several churches in France. The cathedral of Troyes in Champagne, the collegiate church of the same city, the abbey de Clair-Vaux, &c. are possessed of several exceeding valuable pieces, all from the same source, and given them either by the counts of Champagne, who, having contributed largely to this expedition, came in for a good share of the booty; or by the bishop of Troyes, who, as chaplain

lain general to the French army, had been his own carver.

The same church of St. Mark is all incrustated with mosaics, and the far greater part of these in a gold ground. The very floor, the mosaic of which indeed does not equal the former, is divided into compartments, said to be formed from the designs of the abbe Joachim, a noted visionary in the 11th century: one of these compartments represents two cocks dragging a long fox, which the historians and the people of Venice will have to be a prophetic emblem of the victories of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. kings of France, over duke Lodowic, who had seized on the duchy of Milan, and kept possession rather by cunning than courage. In another are some very fat lions swimming in the water, over against some very lean lions feeding on terra-firma, an emblematic and political lesson; the Venetians have more than once had cause to repent, that they did not always regulate their views and projects by it. If abbe Joachim had the gift of prophecy, he was a wretched draughtsman, for never was any thing so rough drawn as all these figures.

Every body knows the lion to be the symbol of Venice, having been that of St. Mark, who became the patron of this republic in the 9th century, when the body of that evangelist was translated from Alexandria to Venice. The winged lion with a book in its paws is at length come to represent St. Mark himself in the eyes of the Venetians, and accordingly it is customary with them to decorate the head of that

creature with an aureola. Besides St. Mark, Venice glories in being possessed of St. Stephen the proto-martyr, St. Athanasius, and even some Old Testament saints.

The Venetian antiquities of the middle age bring to my mind two large paintings by Vicentino, among those in the Pregadi's council-chamber. In one of these paintings, is Pepin king of Italy, Charlemain's son, besieging Venice, and not able to take it but by famine; and the Venetians throwing to him a prodigious number of loaves, on which he raises the siege. The other piece represents Pepin attacked in his retreat: this brings on a sea fight in which he has the worst of it, and betakes himself to flight with some disabled ships. Besides the silence of contemporary historians about these facts, and some even relating them to Pepin's advantage, the fiction is manifest in the many contradictions among the particular historians of Venice. And the painters, to outdo the historians, have from their own fertile invention added the stratagem of throwing the loaves, so that, for the honour of Charlemain's house, and still rather for that of truth, these events should be thrown aside among the chimeras with which every nation is fond of decorating its history. Of this stamp is the famous battle of Ronceveaux, where the cruel Spaniards make Charlemain to have been slain, with all the companions of his achievements.

Accordad os, said the first duke of Alva to his garrison when besieged in Pampelona by the French, *accordad os que en la Tierra que debaxo de vuestros*

nuestros pics bollays, el Re Carlo Magno fue vencido e desbrattado, con muerte de sos doze Pares (a).

* The halls and all the apartments of the doge's palace, together with several courts of justice, the scuole, the churches and chapels, are full of paintings, among which shine those of Titian, old Palma, Paul Veronese, &c.

The Titians and old Palmas are so blackened by the smoke of the many lights in the churches, or faded by the moisture of the Venice air, that they are now only *magni nominis umbra*, scarce any strokes or lineaments of the general design or of the contour appearing. That was all that at high noon, in a very bright day, and with the most favourable light, I could make out in the Assumption, one of Titian's capital pieces, [over the great altar of the church of the *Frati*, or conventual cordeliers. Of all that master's paintings here, the celebrated St. Peter's martyrdom alone affords a clear view of some of its parts.

The pieces, which are very many, of John Bellini, Titian's master, and head of the Venetian school, have, as I may say, survived those precious ruins. Though with little of Titian's graces and strength, they still retain a freshness (*b*), which, by withstanding the humidity of the air and the smoke of the lights, would incline one to suspect that Titian had departed from his master no less in colouring than in design.

(*a*) Recollect that in the country which you now tread under your feet, king Charles the great was overcome and totally routed, leaving his twelve peers dead on the spot.

(*b*) And in their old style have still fresh graces.

the

It is in the former that Paul Veronese principally shines; all his performances have still their original freshness. This is sufficiently evidenced by Darius's family in the Pisani palace; Zachariah in the sacristy, and the marriage of Cana in St. Giorgio's refectory (a), besides several cieling pieces in the ducal palace. This master, intent only in imitating the natural models with which Venice abounded, little concerned himself about that ideal beauty which the Greek artists had in view, and which Cicero, who had thoroughly studied their performances, has so well defined. *Illi artifices*, says that orator, who was a stranger to no branch of beauty, *illi artifices, vel in simulacris, vel in picturis, cum facerent Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplabantur aliquem a quo similitudinem ducerent; sed ipsorum in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quædam, quam intuentes, in eaque defixi, ad illius similitudinem artem & manum dirigebant.* Paul indeed had no occasion to look beyond Venice, the Venetians being in his time, as they still are, the handsomest and finest shaped people in Italy. Here he had in both sexes the finest models for heads, arms, and hands. These parts he merely copied, seeking no farther than what he had before his eyes, either for the attitude, character, or drapery of his figures, who all

(a) This house, which, with its church, was built by Palladio, has a library equally well chosen and situated: over its two doors are two very ingenious emblems on the dispositions requisite to study, and the benefit to be reaped from it. The figures of these emblems I own have slipped my memory

have the air of portraits, but significant and living portraits: such is the bride in the marriage of Cana; the most skilful painters have endeavoured to copy her, but none have been able to express that bloom, that spirit, *questa bella vita*, which animates every feature in her countenance. This incomparable figure was the work of love, the original being a very beautiful person, with whom Paul was at that time exceedingly enamoured. Tradition has preserved another anecdote concerning a monk and a woman, ogling one another from two opposite balconies at the end of the inner building, which forms the scene of the nuptials. The tradition is, that Paul having some difference with the steward of the house, who was one of the religious, placed him there, leering at a woman whom he kept. The quarrel being enflamed by this pictorial sarcasm, may be said to have had very bad consequences, the artist hereupon breaking the engagements he had entered into to paint the refectory all over, together with the cieling.

If Paul Veronese in those particulars be only a copier, yet was he an inimitable copier, and one of the greatest painters in the general disposition of his performances, and in the distribution of their parts: As likewise in some pieces, where the force and boldness of ideas are heightened by the accuracy and precision of the design. Such is the painting on the cieling in the chamber of the council of the ten, where the vices, as subject to the animadversions of that tribunal, are stricken with thunderbolts and tumbled down into hell, each in its fall still retaining its peculiar characteristic. Michael Angelo and the Carrachi have
nothing

nothing above this, either for the plan or execution.

Tintoret, without taking his models either from nature or ideal beauty, had, from the turn of his own genius, acquired a manner full of loftiness and terror, but often falling into the jejune; and still he is Petronius's *precipitatus liber spiritus*. Public and private buildings, the very streets themselves at Venice swarm, as I may say, with his performances, of which the most excellent are those in which he has most given himself up to the impetuosity of his genius, as the Annunciation in St. Roach's school already mentioned: all nature is shaken, the wall of the virgin's room falls to pieces, and the angel comes flying in. What greater imagery could be conceived to express the *turbata est* in the scripture, and the instant of the greatest of mysteries? So rapid a pencil, in the hands of so fertile a genius, was not made for the minute particulars of colouring; accordingly that of Tintoret is generally a kind of camayeu in black on a yellow ground. In his Universal Judgement, which takes up the whole front of the *Pre-gadi* hall above the throne, though a piece which, on account of its place, called for great regard in the execution of it, the several groupes of angels on clouds, might, at first sight, be really taken for so many devils in caldrons. The only piece truly coloured, which I have seen of this master, is a very beautiful marriage of Cana in the sacristy of *La Salute*.

The republic is very jealous of those productions of the great masters of its school, but this jealousy goes no farther than to hinder the exportation

portation of them, without bestowing a thought on their preservation, which might be done with very little care: now, what can be more absurd, or even spightful, than to hinder another from enjoying a good, which in our hands is perishing? If the republic think it beneath her to concern herself about the means for preventing and putting a stop to the insensible decay of these master-pieces, at least should she hinder the formal destruction of them. Of this kind some affecting monuments are to be seen in the treasury of St. Marcuola's church. I was shewn there three capital pieces of Titian, Tintoret, and old Palma, which have lain by, bundled up on the vaults of the church, till now they are rotted away to mere rags, *semeſaque frusta*.

If justice be not administered at Venice, it is not for want of judges nor courts of justice. As each part of the government is distributed among several councils, so each part of the civil and criminal legislature, of the day and night police, &c. has several tribunals and different degrees of jurisdiction, over which preside nobles alone, with lawyers as assessors. To give an idea of the number and multiplicity of the courts of justice at Venice, I need say no more than that it exceeds that of the jurisdictions and courts which constitute what at Paris is called *l'Etat de la Robe*, and the enumeration of which takes up the greater part of the *Court Almanack*. I shall not be thought to exaggerate, when it is known that the several points immediately cognisable by the *Cbatelet*, are, at Venice, divided between, 1st. The tribunal of *Property*, before whom are heard the disputes both
of

of claimants and possessors, relating to houses within the city and adjacent islands. 2d. The tribunal of the *minor Procurators*, who try the like litigations relating to land and houses on the continent, accounts of guardianships, and performance of contracts of marriage. 3d. That of *Foreigners*, which judges between Venetians and foreigners during their stay at Venice, and concerning leases to let. 4. That of *Demands*, before which are brought differences about promises or notes. 5. That of the *Mobili*, erected for determining the smallest concerns. 6. The *Cattaveri*, who take notice of pledges and things lost or found. 7. The *Picveggi*, who judge of contracts, bargains, interest of money, and likewise see to the regular disposition of the streets. 8. That of the *Sopra-Gastaldi*, for seizures and sales of goods, auctions, warrants, and to which application is made for the execution of the sentences of other courts. 9. The *Examiners*, who cause inquests to be taken, and before whom are brought all disputes concerning adjudications by decree, sales, alienations, donations, wills, to all which they set their seal. 10. Lastly, the *prefetti della Notte*, to whom appertain the taxation of costs in other tribunals, and suits between masters and servants.

I have been thus particular, both to justify what I have asserted concerning the multiplicity of the courts of justice in Venice, and that they who are versed in these affairs may observe that political combination, thus distributing, intermingling, and limiting the competency and the powers of these several courts. The same policy has divided the cognizance of appeals among different tribunals,

tribunals, where anciently, as in the north of Europe, the defendant had for council the former judges, who were obliged to maintain in their own name the legality of their sentences ; but this salutary custom is now universally laid aside, which abrogation has on many obvious accounts contributed to lengthen and multiply law suits.

I once attended a cause at the tribunal of the *Examiners*, which is at the foot of the *Rialto*; the question was about a will, which the testator's heirs disputed: the council treated the matter summarily and with much precision and perspicuity, yet in places susceptible of it, with a sufficient degree of warmth.

I likewise heard a cause of appeal at the court *della Quarentia civile*; the parties were the owners and the insurers of a vessel lost within sight of Alexandria. The pleadings were nothing but a continual commentary of the lawyers on some printed briefs, read by a kind of *relater* with a monotonous pronunciation, and his voice both hoarse and shrill. Never did an Italian comedy divert me like the pleading of one of these gowns-men. The hall was not at all of a breadth suitable to its length; here he stood in an open niche, above an estrade, raised along the breadth of the hall, facing the bench; and at the same height on his right-hand was posted his *relater*: at every phrase, every line, almost every word, he opened, repeating the terms of the brief, recapitulating what had been said already, expatiating on the fact or the manner set forth in the brief, and all with the fire, agitation and clamour of a demoniac. This frenzy ran through

through his whole action, sometimes striking the pillars on which his niche rested, sometimes making but one step down on the floor, then up to the bench, running his fingers into the very face of the president, then down again as fast, and returning backwards to his niche, where, whilst the *relater*, to whom he was crying out *Avanti*, proceeded to a new sentence, he was wiping himself and recovering strength for fresh emotions, which the second or third line of the new sentence never failed to bring on. The *relater* still proceeded, forming a kind of thorough bass to the lawyer's squalling, who, in the most decisive places, did not stick to fly at him, and stop his mouth with his hand. As we were then in the beginning of August, is easy to imagine what a sweat such convulsions must have thrown him into, especially being muffled up in an enormous wig, which before and behind reached in equal proportions down to the girdle. Indeed his cloaths were only a shirt and a sort of Venetian cassock, of both which he had gradually loosened the neck, so that his shirt was fluttering about quite open to the waist, and thus indeed he could rub himself down with the greater ease, and often did he use this liberty. This pleading, or rather this scene, consisted of two hearings which lasted five hours. The opposite council was not so full of agitation in his pleading, but gave it greater strength and dignity. I listened to him with some pleasure, though the *relater*, with his shocking pronunciation, terribly grated my ears. I could scarce make any thing of what he read, but I clearly understood every word which came from the lawyer. I should

should have been the less surpris'd if I had understood neither, the Venetian dialect alone being allowed of both in the courts of justice, the councils, and the *Pregadi*.

The counsellors, who must be free of Venice, are in equal consideration here as at Paris. The bar, to those who are not disposed to stick to it, leads to such offices and honours as the republic has reserved to the second class of citizens, and a certain source of wealth it is to those, who, after making a figure there, devote their abilities to chamber practice. Several of the latter have large estates and fine seats, so that they are very nearly on a footing with the nobility, who accordingly treat them as their equals.

From the premises, the bar of Venice appears to abound as much in the great motions of the Greek and Roman eloquence, as our northern auditories are wanting in any such. It is especially in criminal affairs that these great motions are called on. It is in full court that the accuser, who is always one of the *Avogadors*, makes his demand, declaring the facts and producing proofs. The defendant answers by council, but in case his low circumstances will not bear that expence, his cause is pleaded by a barrister of the society, to which the republic allows a salary for this purpose. None of those expedients, so common among the Greeks and Latins, are omitted in such pleadings; arms, poniards, and all the instruments of the crime, with the children, the wife, or parents of the accused, are presented to the judges by the accuser, and the defender; in a word, these pleadings, and the whole

Vol. I. U manner

manner of proceeding in criminal causes, are the same at Venice as they were at Athens and Rome. If this manner of proceeding is become obsolete in our northern countries, it is certainly not so much from a deliberate choice, as because the churchmen, who for a long time directed all tribunals, have introduced into them, especially in criminal causes, the forms of the canon law, with which they are better acquainted; that is, such forms as the popes had drawn up for the inquisition.

Vénice held the first rank among the trading cities, or rather among the trading nations of Europe; and her declension from so brilliant an honour is chiefly owing to two causes; the discovery of the Cape of Goodhope, and prohibiting the nobility from trading.

Before the discovery of the Cape of Goodhope, she was the staple both of Europe and Asia, the broker for all the various sorts of merchandise within the commerce of those two parts of the world, and likewise the bank of that opulence by which it was carried on; in a word, with only the Pisans and Genoese for competitors, she supplied all that Holland, England, and France do at present, allowing, however, for the increase produced by luxury.

This commerce made the greater figure, as it was carried on by the nobility and the first houses of the state, which being governed by the spirit of those houses, had in its wars, conquests and treaties, its principal eye on the prosperity of trade.

What

What a difference between such a spirit and that of the chief states of Europe at the very same time! Among them trade was left to the Jews and the Lombards, the sovereigns and every petty lord of our northern countries looking on it as no more than an expedient, which they daily made use of, by heavy impositions to enrich their treasury, and which they often drained by extraordinary burdens, whereof history furnishes too many instances. These losses, however, the Lombards and Jews made up by the enormous usuries, which sovereigns used to connive at, in hopes of coming in for a share. Hence the general contempt and detestation for trade, or those who followed it. Hence likewise the principles then laid down by the schoolmen concerning usury; principles (*a*) in which all the revolutions in the several branches of commerce have not yet made any change, and in nations, who, in other respects, are not wanting in perspicacity. How very different were the ideas of those dark ages from those which the author of the *noblesse commerçante* has placed in so strong a light! As the latter have gained ground in Europe they have declined at Venice, which now makes no less difference between a nobleman and a trader, than a native

(*a*) These principles never prevailed at Venice, trade having always been accounted a creditable profession; and money, its sinew, being accounted the chief of commodities, produces interest, or rather is sold or pledged as agreed on between the buyer and seller. Disputes relating to these dealings come before the tribunal of the *Pioveggi* which determines the interests, either *Ex scripto*, or *bona fide*, *pro Rata lucri cessantis & damni emergentis*.

of Paris fees between a duke and peer of the kingdom, and a St. Denis's street tradesman.

Towards the beginning of the 15th century, the plain old fashioned ideas being superseded by the chimera of military glory, the system of the republic underwent a great change; she aspired to conquests without any regard to commerce: that romantic notion alienated the nobility from trade, which had ever made their most solid greatness, and the republic was brought to the very brink of ruin.

She has indeed preserved part of those ambitious conquests, but it was by efforts which have quite exhausted her: and can this restless policy, now the grand spring of her government, be said to make up for those plain principles, by which, in the times of its highest prosperity and reputation, the state was governed like a compting-house and magazine?

Yet is it still that same trade which upholds the noble houses against the debasement they imagine inherent in commerce; the greater part of their money is either in trade or the bank; and what is the consequence? the good of the state is sacrificed to private interest, which from its caution to conceal itself, is the more assuming. As for instance, some partnerships of wealthy traders on the continent had set up at Verona and Padua, very considerable manufactories of thrown silk; the nobility, concerned in the manufactures carried on at Venice under their immediate inspection, took umbrage at these new foundations, and, after some clandestine but fruitless endeavours to quash them, got double duties of importation in-

to Venice, and exportation out of the Venetian territories to be laid on all their goods, as under the denomination of foreign : hence these establishments, so promising and of such public benefit, amidst all their claims to the countenance of the state, have in its name been molested and cramped, and thus gradually brought to utter ruin.

Printing, originally set up at Venice by Nicholas Jansson, a Frenchman, though not flourishing in that prosperity to which the abilities, industry, and disinterestedness of the Manutii, the Giunti, the Giolitos, the Bevilacqua, &c. raised it, still makes one of the chief branches of the present trade of Venice. Several noble houses place their money in this trade clandestinely, and with a view of lucre, distantly imitating the Societ  Palatina, composed of the principal noblemen of Milan, who formed it and openly keep it up, for the good of literature and the improvement of the sciences, motives which the highest nobility need not conceal.

John Baptista Pasquali's printing-house, one of the best, and which does as much business as any in Venice, is chiefly employed by Mr. Joseph Smith, a rich English gentleman, who has been consul here for that nation many years, during which he has made large collections of books, paintings, designs, antiques, &c. All Europe has heard of Sebastian Ricci and Carlo Signani's cartoons, which are in his possession, and which he has published most exquisitely engraven by M. Liotard, a Genevan, in his own house and under his daily inspection. The public indeed would readily have dispensed with that long and jejune description of those pieces,

which takes up a whole quarto volume, without in the least adding to the value or merit of the several pieces mentioned in it. With regard to these collections, this Mr. Smith may be matched with a French academician, of whom Mr. de Bosc in his panegyric says, "Contented with a transitory property which ever gave him the first, and consequently the most lively pleasures of possession, he became very expert in the art of happily preventing disgusts, and of multiplying his knowledge by the great number and change of his acquisitions."

By means of the sumptuary laws, the manufactures of the Venetian territory answer its consumption; and agreeably to the spirit of the government, they are rather solid than showy: no country in Europe makes better velvets or silk stockings. Its looking-glasses and galloons, which formerly were vended all over Europe, now go only to the Levant. The reputation of its treakle is at its ancient height, which it owes to the apparatus and form with which it is composed, and under the eye of the very signory itself. The trade in this treakle is one of the little emoluments in the Venetian ambassadors at the several courts of Europe. The wax, which Venice fetches from Dalmatia, Greece, and all the Levant, employs many manufactories, where, after being whitened, it is made into candles, the very finest of which fetch no more than about fifteen pence a pound. As to foreign commerce there is scarce any thing done in it, except in fine linen and calicoes from Swisserland, and cotton and dying drugs from the Levant, which it sends to Swisserland,

Switzerland. This trade is chiefly in the hands of Swiss houses settled at Venice. There is not indeed a nation without some considerable houses here. The trade of these houses begins with the country from whence they came; but in a little time declining, either for want of support or the difficulty of intercourse, they give into the Venetian schemes, and generally turn to banking.

One of these houses, and which we oftenest visited, was that of M. le Roi, who, after being French consul at Constantinople during the greater part of his life, had come and settled with his family at Venice, where, by means of the acquaintance and connections arising from his consulship, he carried on a trade to the Levant. He generally wears the Turkish dress, and retains a high esteem for the manners, candour, and probity of that nation. He has a complete apartment in his house intirely furnished in the Turkish manner. We spent a very pleasant afternoon in it with M. le Roi, his family and some strangers; seated and served Turk like, that is, sitting cross leg on cushions in a large estrade, where tea, coffee, chocolate, pipes, brandy, and pillau, were brought to us every half hour. This way of living, besides being adapted to the Levant climate, is likewise promotive of those musings and reveries in which the Levantines so much delight; but, for our parts, very far were we from any such melancholy pensiveness, the chief topic of our conversation was the Turks, whose attitude however little agreed with our hams.

Cardinal de Bernis left the French name in the highest consideration at Venice; and to the

personal esteem all Italy expressed for that minister, he owed the disregard with which the present pope turned a deaf ear to the devices and machinations with which his enemies, whose activity was equal to their rancour, opposed his promotion to the purple. They not only roused against him the Romans, who, amidst the moderation of their sentiments concerning the broils among the French clergy, still looked on the firmness of the parliaments with ultramontane eyes; in order to create him more fixed enemies, they spread abroad, as his own works, some collections, in which his juvenile composures were intermixed with the ribaldry of such libertines as Rousseau, Grecourt, &c. To all these batteries the pope opposed his own knowledge as bishop of Padua, with accounts from his family and friends, of the ambassador's behaviour, and of the great esteem which the best judges in Venice entertained for his person, abilities, and prudent circumspection.

P A D U A.

From Venice the *peotta*, or passage boat, carried us to Padua through the *Lagunas*. Five miles sailing brings one through them to Lizza-Fucina, where we entered the Brenta. The *peotta* was crowded with Venetians, going to rusticate a while in those charming recesses, where the nobility and rich citizens of Venice spend their summers. These travellers were one and all dressed in a dark coloured gamlet without

without neck or ruffles, and a silk handkerchief about their neck; not once did they open their mouths; they did not break silence so much as to inform us of the danger of oysters brought by state spies, disguised like fishermen, who come from several parts to view the passengers under the cloak of selling oysters. My fellow traveller being very fond of them bought a basket full, offered some to the Venetians, who refused them with a silent shake of the head, eat plentifully of them himself, would needs have me eat some, and left the rest for our servants; and how they agreed with us I shall presently mention.

The country along the Brenta is an earthly paradise, at least I know none where the land is more fertile, better cultivated, or more delightfully planted: every where are elegant seats in the midst of large enclosures, and most of them built by Palladio or his pupils, and from designs and plans of which no two are alike; and of all the principal front faces the river.

I have somewhere read that the whole length of the ground which this river waters from Lizza-Fucina to Padua is an alluvion, and that Padua was originally by the sea side. But this is certainly a mere conjecture, formed on the appearance of the ground and examination of the soil, but which is countenanced only by the authority of Strabo, and that very vague; all he says is, that Padua was built in the neighbourhood of the Lagunas. It is however a matter of fact, that the Venetians, to secure their Lagunas against the progress of the alluvions, have turned aside the greater part of the

the Brenta waters on that part of the *Lagunas*, where the current being something brisker than at the natural mouth of the river, prevents any great accumulation of sediments (*a*).

During this passage, I divided my attention between these delicious houses, of which, as I may say, we took a cursory view, and a book printed at Venice in 1669, called *Arcadia in Brenta, ovvero la maninconia sbandita*, no bad collection of witty sayings, jests, tales, &c. supposed to have passed in such a vehicle as ours, but among Venetians who were not such strict votaries to silence as those in our company.

I could not perceive the *Timavus* in the Brenta so readily as Mr. Addison, nor its mouth (*b*)

Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis

It mare præruptum, & pelago premit arua sonanti;

Though Virgil adds,

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque locavit

Teucrorum.

Leandro Alberti, struck with the utter unlikeness of this pompous description to the present condition of the Brenta, has transferred it to a river which still bears the name of *Fonte-Timas*.

(*a*) The canal which discharges itself at Chiozza, was contrived and executed by the Romans, under the name of *Fossa Claudia*. Vid. Plin. l. 3. c. 16.

(*b*) Concerning this, see in Burman's *Thesaurus*, vol. 4. a dissertation by one Paul Pinio, where you will not learn any *Gran Cosa*.

This

This stream, for it can scarce be called a river, which waters Friuli, does indeed issue through several mouths from the foot of the hills del Carso; and after a course of only a quarter of a league enters the gulph of Trieste: at least, thus is it represented in a very particular map of Friuli in Moyseffo's history of the war, which the republic of Venice maintained in this country in the beginning of the last century.

If Virgil's description should still appear too magnificent for such a rivulet, I could not, in all the neighbourhood of Padua, see any river which it would suit better than the Po itself, with its several outlets; each of which indeed is a kind of sea (*it mare præruptum*). The *montis* would to be sure be quite misplaced, there being not the least appearance of any mountain or hill near the mouth of the Po; so that, with the crowd of commentators, we must conceive that Virgil carries Antenor to the very bottom of the Adriatic gulf, where, being put to a stand, he landed in Croatia, (*Regna Liburnorum*) then following the coast, he scoured the gulph of Trieste and reconnoitred the country, (*fontem superare Timavi*) but disapproving of such mountainous and barren tract for the settlement he had in view, he came at last to the banks of the Brenta, and there took up his abode. Of this his tomb, which is shewn at Padua, would be a full proof, were not the Latin inscription on it unluckily cut in characters, manifestly Gothic. The grammarians will have nothing farther on their hands, than to exculpate Virgil for the solemnity lavished on this description, which Silius Italicus has imitated in that of the

the Rubicon before quoted in the mention of that river.

We reached Padua pretty early, and the only inconveniency we were put to in the passage was the shifting of our bark at Oriago, where the Brenta ceases to be longer navigable for the larger boats. A gang of scoundrels pressed upon us to carry our baggage into the other bark, and on our answering that we would follow the example of the Venetians, who we saw had that business done by their servants, they furiously threatened ours to knock them down if they did but wag a finger towards it; afterwards they themselves fell together by the ears which should do the job; and the conquerors laying hold on our portmanteaus without coming to any bargain, we could not avoid paying the villains as much as if they had brought our baggage from Venice. Yet so far were those miscreants from being satisfied, that they poured forth all the foul names in which the Venetian idiom is very copious, and we had them on our backs all dinner time, which, however, we enjoyed in great composure, having determined to take no notice of all their execrations.

Our first night at Padua was a very dismal one to my fellow traveller. He went to bed seemingly in perfect health, but about midnight awaked in a burning fever, and most excruciating pains in the stomach and intestines, and continual evacuations both ways. At first the signor magnifico (a), declared that he was *avele-*

(a) The title of physicians in Italy.

nato, i. e. poisoned. This brought to my mind the oysters with which he had indulged himself; and the magnifico knowing these to be the cause of his disorder, told me that at this time of the year all oysters were very dangerous, and those of the Lagunas had cost many a one his life. It was noon before the evacuations and pains subsided. Fortunately I had taken but a very slender dose of this poison, and accordingly I felt no manner of inconveniency except in the morning a sickness at my stomach, with some evacuations and slight gripings; our servants afterwards came in for their share, as they had partaken of the regale. In a word, never had hospital more the appearance of one, than our apartment. But what to us appeared most strange in this adventure was the composure, the stoical insensibility, or rather the inhumanity with which our fellow travellers had seen us eating these oysters, knowing, at the same time, how very pernicious they were.

Padua for largeness may be compared to the second rate cities in France. Its streets, like those of Bologna, are lined with two rows of piazzas, besides several canals of a clear running water, excellently distributed for the convenience of the manufactures. Its situation is delightful both from the variegated fruitfulness of its soil, and the embellishments of art; yet is it so very badly peopled, that, deprived of its monasteries, its prebends, the seminary, and what few scholars its university still draws thither, scarce a soul would be left there. *Mantua va misera nimium vicina Cremona.* The neighbourhood of Venice, the daughter of Padua, is extremely detrimental to it in many respects,

respects, *filia matrem verberat*, especially since the decline of the trade of the Venetians has reduced them to live on the rents of their estates.

The first object which curiosity visits is the church *Del Santo*, that is, St. Anthony of Padua, who lies here: on every side of his tomb are basso relievo's in white marble, and the sculpture exquisite. Close behind this tomb has been made a little place from which, through a crevice, but now much widened by people's devotion, issues a very odorous exhalation. *Oche odor di Santo!* cried a good woman, whom we saw come out of that cell. On our taking her place we had indeed a very strong odour, but it plainly was of fresh pounded incense. In the square before the church stands a masterly equestrian statue, erected by the republic of Venice to its general Gattamelata, and modeled by the famous Donatello of Florence. Among the pompous epitaphs, of which this church is full, I observed that of Ottavio Ferrari, professor of polite literature in the university of Padua, and one of those learned men whom Lewis XIV. honoured with a pension. It is there said of him, *Regum opes & munera æquans facundia, fide & consilio, invidiam aut vicit, aut gloriæ incitamentum habuit.* Among those epitaphs, we saw, on different altars, some paintings of a very bright colouring; as to the treasury we took the sacristan's word, who told us it was a treasury indeed.

But we personally visited father Martini Valletti, master of the chapel to this house, and the best scholar among the Cordeliers, *quot sunt aut aliis erunt in annis*; he is likewise a great musician,
well

well versed in composition, and intimate with the celebrated Tartini, with whose musical ideas, taste and views he perfectly harmonizes, and has undertaken a history of that charming art. The good father expressed much esteem for Lully; and Rameau he admires. He shewed us the beginning of a grand scheme executing under his inspection, and that of Tartini, by some Venetian noblemen their disciples. This scheme is for all the Psalms to be translated into Italian verse, as literally as consistent with the spirit and elegance of poetry, and then set to a music plain as that of Lully, and in which harmony alone has been studied. We saw the two first volumes, which, indeed, are extremely well engraved: this music is as little incumbered with notes as church singing.

Father Martini informed us that Tartini had read all the articles on music in the Encyclopedia furnished by M. Rousseau of Geneva, and the more carefully, as censuring many things in the musical system which he had published (a); that he was very desirous of entering into a correspondence with M. Rousseau on the points in dispute; but that he repressed his desire, accounting it did not quite become him, as M. Rousseau's senior, to make the first overtures. This I, by a third hand, caused to be intimated to M. Rousseau; but whether my commission has been executed, and what may have been the result, I hitherto know not.

The convent of St. Justina, where the reform of the Benedictine order in Europe had its begin-

(a) In a *Treatise on Harmony*, printed in 1745.

ing, is one of the finest monasteries in all Italy, and likewise one of the wealthiest, if, as reported, it has two hundred thousand livres yearly income. The church is Palladio's master-piece in this kind; like St. Peter's at Rome, it is much more spacious than at first it appears, and, if such a thing may be said, it surpasses the former in one point, being very lightfome, yet at coming in none of the windows are seen which communicate the light. It has twenty-four chapels of a most grand architecture, and not one alike: the martyrdom of St. Justina at the end of the choir is accounted one of Paul Veronese's best performances, but the effect of it is much diminished by the height at which it stands. Besides the *Glory*, or rather the persons who crowd the upper part of it, the clouds on which these persons rest, and lastly the angels scattered in the small void left between the aërial vehicles and the principal action, throw a confusion on the disposition of this picture, quite foreign from Paul Veronese's taste, who indeed may have sacrificed his own to that of his employers.

This convent has no less than six courts, with portico's or colonades on every side, and of which the elegance and magnificence puts one in mind of Saint Charles Borromeo's edifices. The library is numerous and well chosen, splendidly placed, and under the management of a librarian, whose politeness is equal to his great erudition. He shewed me a complete collection of the most rare *Gioie* of what they call La Collana Italiana, i. e. the jewels of the Italian necklace. These are the oldest and most scarce editions of their best authors in good condition, the bindings very compact
and

and elegant. This collection was originally formed at Paris by an English nobleman, who carried it over to London, from whence it was successively removed to Amsterdam, Grand Cairo, Constantinople and Venice, where the abbot of St. Justina made a purchase of it. Here I saw all the finest editions of Aldus Manutius, a Bandel of 1554 complete, with the Aggiunta of 1573, the *Spaccio della Bestia triomphante*, and the admirable Boccaccio of 1527; adjoining to it was that which Rolli printed at London in 1725, an edition so very like that of 1527 in the paper, types, disposition of the pages, and even the very faults, that they are to be distinguished only by a very slight difference, in the Giunti's mark placed at the end, which in the former is horizontal, and in the latter perpendicular.

Here is shewn, with a kind of veneration, the room in which lodged the celebrated father Mabillon, when on his journey through Italy. As a mark of his regard for the reform, of which this convent was the nursery, he proposed to attend at all its excercises both day and night, and accordingly came to the very next mattins after his arrival. The religious chaunt them standing in the middle of the choir, and father Mabillon made one among them, till seeing that at the second psalm they did not sit down like the Benedictines in France, his fatigue after his journey obliged him to withdraw.

St. Justina's house is governed by a regular abbot, as are all the abbies of Italy except those which are held in commendam by cardinals. These commendams the monks look on with a very evil eye, and, in revenge, they give the following

definition of a cardinal: *animal rubrum, omnium beneficiorum capax, rapax, vorax*: the only one for whom they have any good will, is the cardinal des Lances, who, contented with one single abbey, lives like a regular abbot with his monks, and presides at all the exercises of the community. As to the commendams of ultramontane countries, these they look on as an utter subversion of the hierarchy, and of all ecclesiastical discipline, as an usurpation, and invasion of the treasures of the church. The mitre and crozier with which the commendatories emblazon their coats of arms, are to the monks the very abomination of desolation; and to denote that these ensigns of authority are of no consequence, they have a sarcasm which is adopted even by the Italian canonists: *Muralia & Pedalia in Abbate Commendatario, sicut genitalia in Mulo*. The abbies held by regulars are only triennial, not that at the end of every triennium the abbots are reduced to plain monks; they are always abbots, *semel abbas, semper abbas*; but every one is removed to another abbey, and cannot return to the former till the third triennium.

At Padua we did not omit seeing the sad remains of the famous hall of the public palace. This hall, which was in breadth 90 feet, in length 260, the cieling supported only by the walls, might be reckoned one of the wonders of Italy for its dimensions, its emblematic and astrological paintings, of which the famous Peter d'Aupone (a) had given the designs to Giotto, one
of

(a) Of this personage so distinguished among astrologers and alchymists, Leandro Alberti says: *Era eccellente astrologo e Phi-*

of the fathers of painting in Italy; and lastly for the monuments erected in it to the memory of illustrious Paduans and benefactors to the city and university of Padua. This vast structure was covered with lead, which in most parts rested on iron brackets. About two or three years before, it had been blown down by a hurricane, and the republic of Venice did not seem to give herself any concern about repairing it. The west wall, which formed one of the ends of this august room, is not damaged; and there is still to be seen on it the supposed bust of Livy, with an inscription in honour of him, and an epitaph of a freeman of Livia, which has been applied to that immortal historian.

The cathedral affords a very singular monument in the busts of Benedict XIV, and Cardinal Rezzonico his successor, and formerly bishop of Padua, facing each other. The latter had obtained from Benedict XIV. both a renewal and enlargement of the privileges of his cathedral, one of the best endowed of all Italy; and in acknowledgment his chapter erected to him this monument, whilst Benedict XIV. was still living. It would have pleased much better, if, by way of indicating the motive, an ugly little arm had not been added to the bust of the cardinal, presenting a paper to that of the pope. A thought so out of the way must certainly have been fetched from the barbarism of the lower empire.

e Filosofo, ben che notato d'aver commercio, e gran familiarità col Diavolo: he was an excellent astrologer and philosopher, yet famous for being in close connection with the Devil.

In the sacristy of this church is the portrait of the celebrated Petrarch, who was one of the canons, and bequeathed to it part of his library. This picture is contemporary with the original, and the singular contraction of his features produces a pensive tristful countenance, perfectly suitable to the perpetual chanter of amorous languors.

It was the university vacation when we happened to be at Padua, so that we could have no personal knowledge of the *qui va li*, which all accounts of travellers are so full of; then we were told, that the students are very much fallen off from their pranks, as their number has decreased, which at present is indeed very small. Besides a pretty large number of particular colleges, this university has a gymnasium or public college, the inside of which forms an oblong square, with porticos or peristyles on the ground floor, and round the first story. These porticos open into the several classes assigned to each faculty; they are as it were lined with unsightly programmas, wretchedly done in water colours, but the respectful offerings of students of all countries in Europe, to the memory of their professors, with the coats of arms both of pupils and masters.

I could not but admire its elliptical anatomy chamber, as conveniently holding seven hundred and eight persons in a very narrow compass, and each row of the seats inclosed within a wooden balustrade. Fra Paolo is said to have been both its inventer and designer: that celebrated person was no less the geometrician, the anatomist, the mechanic, than the divine; the Venetians will even have

have it that the discovery of the circulation of the blood is owing to him: in whatever science he employed himself, all the perspecuity and extent of genius accompanied his investigations, so that he was to the republic of Venice what Pascal has since been to France.

Under his eye and under his auspices it was that Galileo entered upon that course of studies at the university of Padua, wherein he daily distinguished himself by successes and discoveries, which rescued natural philosophy from that servitude, in which it had been shackled ever since the revival of literature and the renovation of studies. At Padua* are still to be seen some wooden quadrants by Galileo's own hand, and by means of which he made discoveries, which astronomy glories in even to this day. The regard to which his works had raised him, in the opinion of the principal personages of the republic, supported him against the jealousy, the vexations and the ill turns done him by the professors his colleagues. These vexations however, together with the love of his native country, at length determined him to break through engagements both honourable and beneficial, for a settlement in his own country, the sovereign of which had long before been inviting him to come and shine among his fellow citizens.

I have procured from M. Nelli's museum at Florence the copy of a letter written to Galileo, by the senator Francis Sagredo, relating to this new settlement, and which I shall insert as a monument of the affection and tenderness of his Venetian friends, and containing a literal prediction

* Or at Pisa.

of his future destiny at Florence ; I shall subjoin to it the fragment of another letter on one of his discoveries, which seems to have been the germe which gave birth to the invention of the thermometer.

Copia della Lettera di Giovan-Francesco Sagredo, Nobil Veneto, scritta à Galileo-Galilei, in data del 25 Maggio 1611, trascritta dal suo originale esistente nella Libreria dell' Illustrissimo Signore Gio-Battista Nelli, Patrizio Fiorentino.

PER grazia divina il mio viaggio è riuscito felicemente per via di Marsiglia, di dove mi sono inviato per terra alla Patria ; e con questa occasione ho vedute molte città con mio gran gusto, siccome ancò qui ricevo piacere in vedere, Et avvertire tutte le fabbriche e siti, Et ancora qualche usanza, à ragione di uomo nuovo e forestiero, in comparazione delle altre città. E veramente parmi che Iddio mi abbia concessa molta grazia, facendomi nascere in questo luogo tanto bello, e così dissimile da tutti gli altri, che per mio giudizio, chi avesse veduto tutto il mondo, trasferendosi poi quì, potrebbe esser certo di vedere molte cose degne e non più vedute. Quì la libertà e la maniera del vivere in ogni stato di persona, parmi cosa ammiranda, e forse unica al mondo. Perciò mentre che io consumo il tempo in pensare à queste cose, creda pure Vossignoria Eccellentissima, che io son corso coll' animo subito alla sua persona, considerando che si sia partita di quà ; e le mie considerazioni sono tutte fondate sopra il suo e mio interesse.

Quanto al mio, io non vi trovo rimedio sufficiente, perche dall' assenza alla presenza vi è troppo gran passaggio ; e siccome in alcuni gusti, che ella mi intende,
pare

pare che coll' immaginazione, e con qualche lieve da se aiuto, l' uomo gode in assenza quasi tanto come se fosse presente, nondimeno è impossibile aver il gusto del trattenimento e della conversazione, con altri accidenti, i quali sono quasi più essenziali che quell' ultimo diletto che da quasi tutti viene reputato come ultimo fine. Orsù io mi posso bene immaginare di essere con il mio Signore Galileo: posso volgermi nella memoria molti de' suoi dolcissimi ragionamenti; ma come è possibile, che l'immaginazione mi serva per rappresentarmi, E indovinare tante giocondissime novità, che nella sua gentilissima conversazione io solea trarre dalla sua viva voce! Possono forse queste essere compensate da una letteruccia alla settimana, letta da me sì con molto gusto, ma scritta fosse da lei con troppo incomodo? In questo capo adunque, che è fondato sopra l' interesse mio, mi riesce la partenza di Vosignoria Eccellentissima di inconsolabile, ed incomprendibile dispiacere.

Quanto poi a' suoi interessi, io mi riposo al suo giudizio, anzi al suo senso: quì lo stipendio non era per mio credere in tuto sprezzabile: l'occasione della spesa, credo, molta poca con assai gusto, E il suo bisogno certo non tanto, che dovesse metterlo in pensiero di cose nuove per avventura incerte, e dubbiose. La libertà, e la monarchia di se stesso dove potrà trovarla come in Venezia? Principalmente avendo gli appoggi che aveva V. S. E. i quali ogni giorno coll' accrescimento dell' età, e dell' autorità de' suoi amici, si faceva più considerabile.

Vosignoria Eccellentissima al presente è nella sua nobilissima Patria, ma è anco vero che è partita dal luogo dove aveva il suo bene: serve al presente Principe suo naturale, grande, pieno di virtù, giovane di singolare aspettazione; ma quì ella aveva il commando

sopra quelli che commandano, e governano gli altri, e non aveva à servire se non à se stesso, quasi Monarca dell' Universo. La virtù e la magnanimità di quel Principe, dà molta buona speranza che la devozione, & il merito di V. S. sia aggradito e premiato; ma chi può nel tempestoso mare della Corte prometterfi di non essere dalli furiosi venti della emulazione, non dico sommerso, ma almeno travagliato & inquietato?

Io non considero l' età del Principe, il quale pare che necessariamente con gli anni non abbia da mutare ancora il temperamento, e la inclinazione, col resto de' gusti; poichè già sono informato che la sua virtù ha così buone radici, che si deve anzi sempre sperarne migliori e più abbondanti frutti: ma chi sa ciò che possono fare gl' infiniti & incomprendibili accidenti del mondo, aiutati dalle imposture degli uomini cattivi & invidiosi, i quali seminando & allevando nell' animo del Principe qualche falso e calunnioso concetto, possono valersi appunto della giustizia di lui per rovinar un galant' uomo?

Prendono per un pezzo i Principi gusto di alcune curiosità, ma chiamati spesso dall' interesse di cose maggiori, volgono l' animo ad altro: poi credo che il Granduca possa compiacersi di andare mirando con uno de gli occhiali di Vosignoria la Città di Firenze, e qualche altro luogo circonvicino; ma per qualche suo bisogno importante, gli farà di mestiere vedere quello che si fa per tutta Italia, in Francia, in Ispagna, in Allemagna, & in Levante: egli ponerà da un canto l' occhiale di Vosignoria, la quale sebben con il suo valore troverà alcuno altro stromento utile per questo novo accidente, chi sarà colui che possa inventare un' occhiale per distinguere i pazzi da i savii, il buono dal cattivo consiglio, l' architetto intelligente da un prete ostinato & igno-

È ignorante? Cbi non sà che giudice di questo doverà essere la ruota d' un' infinito numero di miglioni di sciocchi, i voti de' quali sono stimati secondo il numero e non á peso?

Non voglio più diffondermi nel suo interesse, perche già da principio mi obbligai stare al suo giudizio e volere. Gli altri amici di Vosignoria Eccellentissima parlano molto diversamente, anzi uno che già era de' suoi più cari, mi ha protestato di rinunciare alla mia amicizia, quando io avessi voluto continuare in quella di Vosignoria, la quale siccome non può recuperare il perduto, così mi persuado che saprà conservare l' acquistato; ma quell' essere in luogo dove l' autorità degli amici del Berlinzone* come si ragiona, val molto, molto ancora mi travaglia, &c.

Copy of a Letter from Giovan Francesco Sagredo, a Venetian nobleman, to Galileo Galilei, dated the 25th of May 1611, transcribed from its original in the library of Signor Gio-Battista Nelli, a Florentine nobleman.

Thank God I arrived safe and well at Marseilles, from whence I came home by land, on which occasion I had the satisfaction of seeing a great many cities, and here I still have the same pleasure as a foreigner, in viewing and taking notice of all the several buildings and places, and some customs and usages, compared with those of other cities. And I really esteem it as a great kindness of God, in causing me to be born in so charming a place, and so different from all others, that, in my

* Questo era un Padre Jesuita.

opinion, a person, after travelling all over the world, may on coming hither be sure of still seeing many things worth his curiosity, and the like to which he never saw. Another admirable circumstance here, and perhaps not to be parralled in the universe, is the freedom and manner of living among the several classes of people. Yet Sir, amidst all these reflections, my mind, alarmed at your having left this place, made an excursion to you; and believe me, all my speculations on this disagreeable subject, are entirely founded on both your interest and my own. As to mine, it is beyond any adequate remedy; the difference between presence and absence is too great to be compensated; and if some pleasures are, by means of imagination and other little helps of one's own, to be enjoyed clearly as well when absent as present, yet is it impossible to have the true relish of conversation and amusement, with other incidents which are no less essential than that consummating delight, however it be by most accounted the ultimate end. Well, I may easily fancy myself to be with my dear Galileo: I may recal to mind many of his charming conversations; but how is it possible that my imagination shall represent to me, and divine the many new strokes of wit and ingenious pleasantries, which I used to hear in his entertaining conversation, and the more charming, as coming from his own mouth? These it may be said, but very wrongly said, will be made up, by a letter every week, which to be sure I shall read with great pleasure, but the writing of which perhaps put you to very great inconveniency.

Thus,

Thus, as to my interest, your departure gives me inexpressible concern.

Now as to your own interest, I refer myself to your judgment, and even your senses: here you had a salary, which in my opinion was by no means despicable: your call for expences, I believe, was very small, and no want of pleasure; so that certainly you was under no necessity of seeking a new station, which may not answer expectations. Where is a place like Venice for freedom, and being one's own master, especially with such supports as you had, and which every day of your life became more considerable by the increase of the power of your friends?

You are indeed in your own native country, but you have turned your back on that city where your subsistence was. You, at present, are in the service of your natural sovereign, who is young, and has many virtues and great endowments; but here you had the rule over those who command and govern others, and, as monarch of the universe, had none but yourself to serve. That prince's many amiable and eminent qualities, give me great hopes that your services will be approved of and your merit rewarded: but who in the tempestuous sea of a court can promise himself, that the squalls and hurricanes of jealousy and emulation, shall not disturb and harass, if not sink him to the bottom?

I do not mention your prince's age, as if years might give a disfavoured turn to his temper, inclinations, and pleasures; being already informed, that his virtue springs from such good roots, that even better fruits are still to be expected, and in
greater

greater abundance : but who knows what may be brought about by the many unaccountable incidents and fluctuations of the world, together with the machinations of wicked and designing men, who sowing calumnies in the prince's breast, may abuse his justice to ruin a worthy man ?

Princes take pleasure in some curiosities for a while, but are often diverted from them by greater concerns intervening : thus I make no doubt but the grand duke may be highly delighted with viewing his city of Florence, and the environs, through one of your glasses ; but some important occurrence may make it necessary for him to look out after what is doing in every part of Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany and the Levant : then he lays aside your glass. What though your ingenuity could make him an instrument for this new emergency, where is the man who can invent a glass for distinguishing wise men from fools, good counsels from bad, and the intelligent architect from the ignorant and obstinate priest ? This every one knows comes under the cognisance of a multitude of ignoramus's, whose votes go by number and not weight.

I forbear expatiating any farther on your interest, as at first I had bound myself to abide by your judgment and inclination. But give me leave to tell you, that your other friends here talk at a very different rate ; and one who lately was among the foremost of them, has vowed to me, that he will disclaim all friendship with me, since I am for a correspondence with you, who, as you cannot recover what is lost, I persuade myself will

will preserve what you have gained; after all, your being in a place where Berlinzone's * friends are said to have great interest, still gives me a vast deal of uneasiness, &c.

Copia di parte di Lettera scritta da D. Benedetto Castelli, à Monsignore D. Ferdinando Cesarini, sopra la cura d' un ferito.

In questo mi sovvene d' un' esperienza fattami vedere già più di trenta-cinque anni sono, dal Signore nostro Galileo, la quale fu che presa una caraffella di vetro, di grandezza d' un piccol' uovo di gallina, col collo lungo due palmi in circa, e sottile quanto un gambo di pianta di grano, e riscaldata bene colle palme delle mani la detta caraffella, e poi rivoltando la bocca d' essa in vaso sottoposto, nel quale era un poco d' acqua, lasciando libera dal calor delle mani la caraffella, subito l' acqua cominciò a salire nel collo; e sormontò sopra il livello dell' acqua del vaso più d' un palmo: del quale effetto poi il medesimo Signore Galileo si era servito per fabbricare uno strumento da esaminare i gradi del caldo, e del freddo: intorno al quale strumento sarebbe che dire assai.

Copy of part of a letter written by D. Benedetto Castelli, to Monsignore D. Ferdinando Cesarini, on the cure of a person who had been wounded.

“ This brings to my remembrance an experiment which our valuable countryman Galileo shewed me above thirty-five years ago, viz. that taking a glass phial of the bigness of a small hen's egg, with a neck about two palms long, and as

* A Jesuit.

slender as the stalk of an ear of corn; and after well warming this phial between the palms of his hands, he turned the mouth of it downwards into a vessel in which was a little water; the phial being left without the heat of the hand, the water began to ascend in the neck, and rose a full palm above the level of the water in the vessel. Of this effect Galileo afterwards availed himself, so far as to make an instrument for examining the degrees of heat and cold, which instrument will doubtless be much talked of."

Having mentioned the ill terms which the immortal Galileo suffered, from those who hated him for his superior abilities, the following will fully manifest the high favour in which he stood with the first persons in Venice.

During a visitation of the university of Padua, by the three procurators of St. Mark, who constitute a tribunal particularly erected, *per la Riforma dello Studio di Padoa*, a colleague of Galileo's, perhaps father Berlinzone himself, charged him, in his presence, and at a full meeting, with keeping a girl at Padua, another at Gambarara, where he never failed going on vacation days, and a third at Venice, whither also he made frequent trips. Being summoned by the magistracy to answer to this charge, all he said was, that he had wants, that those wants were common to him with his accuser, and that he had never minded in what way his accuser satisfied such wants. On this confession, the *Riformatori* having taken it into deliberation, declared that the defendant's salary being inadequate to his wants, the republic doubled it,

at

at the same time exhorting him to make a good use of it.

The abbé Facciolati has comprehended, in an octavo of two hundred and forty pages, all the most interesting particulars, whether for importance or singularity, which the history of the university of Padua affords. This judicious abridgment merits a distinguished place in the history of the progress of the human mind. It is interspersed with some singular anecdotes, one of which I shall relate in the author's own words :

Anno 1722, cum in Romanâ Curia quæreretur de virtutibus Francisci-Sebastiani ab Apparitio ex Minoritis, cognomento Pyraustæ, ut in cælitum album referretur ; & pro negotii gravitate aliquid incidisset non satis planum atque explicatum, adhibita est in Consilium præter Sorbonicam & Salmaticensem, Universitas Patavina.

Vixerat Pyrausta usque ad annum sexagesimum, summâ vitæ integritate atque innocentia. Id ætatis cum esset, puellam uxorem duxit ; sed ita tamen ut servato, si fieri posset, virginalis continentie proposito, custos potius & pater, quam maritus, vitæ sociam atque adjutricem haberet : eâque intra annum defunctâ, alteram statim eâdem conditione sibi adjunxit. Cum utraqûe continentissimè egit ; & cum secundam quoque citò amisisset, religioni se addixit, obiitque sanctitatis famâ & miraculis clarus.

In dubium vocabatur, num duo hæc connubia ex christianæ prudentiæ legibus inita dici possent ad virtutem heroicam exercendam ; & cum sententiæ variassent, alii quoque Theologi extra urbem consulti sunt. Scripsere ex nostris de re hac, jubente Collegio, Franc.

Hiacynthus

Hiacynthus Serri, Theologus Thomista, Fr. Nicolaus Buico, Theologus Scotista, & Presbyter Michael Verrius, Logicæ Professor. Ac primus quidem nihil in iis matrimoniis prudenter actum censuit; alter virtutem agnovit, non tamen heroicam; tertius matrimonium utrumque summis laudibus extulit, & Ecclesiæ honoribus dignum affirmavit. Collegii Patres, speciosa secuti, secundum Verrium pronuntiaverunt.

From this historian, who, in an advanced age, besides a vast erudition, retains a most agreeable chearfulness, I heard some other anecdotes, which I promise myself will not be thought unacceptable here.

Garibaldo, that professor of law of whom the above quoted history says, page 104, that *turba Studentium confertissima hunc ex sedē suā sublatum, in capaciorem aliam, ubi posset illum audire commodius, exportavit*, going home one night with his wife after supping at a friend's, fell in with the *qui-va-li*. After a little diversion with them he named himself, concluding that this would assuredly check their petulance; but the doctor was mistaken; the *qui-va-li* increased, and pressed on him more and more. On this he to his name added his titles of *Doctor & Professor publicus*. Even such titles being of no avail, he then called out with a magisterial voice: *Ego sum Garibaldus Magister vester, Doctor publicus, cum uxore publicā*. On which these licentious youths dispersed.

Another instance of the little respect these nurslings of the muses pay to their professors, is, that once after spending part of the night in their freaks of *qui-va-li*, they, about two o'clock in the morning,

came

tumultuously thundering at the lodgings of an aged professor of humanity, caused his door to be opened, and sent up two deputies to his bed-side, representing to him that the whole university were at daggers drawing, and they did not know what the consequence might be, if he would not kindly condescend to hear the two parties and give his judgment, in which all would acquiesce, on an important question that had thus violently divided them. The professor rose, cloathed himself, put on his doctoral gown, and took his seat on a stone bench by the side of his door: there the orator of each party made a long-winded speech, all of common place, on the advantages and felicity of peace, union, and harmony, in literary societies, and on the mischiefs of dissention and discord in any society whatever: they prolixly expatiated on the confidence of the university in the knowledge and zeal of a professor, who so assiduously devoted both his days and nights to its improvement; and after having heaped the most extravagant encomiums on the doctor, they at length came to the important question; which was, whether one of the least decent words of all the Italian tongue should be written with one Z or two? *scrivetelo con 3000*, write it with 3000, answered the enraged professor, *e che il cancro vi culli, canaglia maledetta*, and a pox take ye for a set of impudent rascals.

The university of Padua has a professorship for the Thomistic divinity, which, for a long time, had been held by French jacobins: the celebrated Father Serri filled it with the highest lustre for the space of forty years. On his de-

cease the jacobins of France sent in his room a subject, who, falling under the law so as to lose his head, has not been replaced. After a tedious expectation of a successor, the university has disposed of this professorship in favour of an Italian dominican. On entering the house of these fathers, one sees at the end of the cloyster on the right-hand, a large epitaph on white marble, which is that of the above P. Serri, and the following is an exact copy of it.

D. O. M.

*Francisco-Jacobo-Hyacinto Serri,
Thelonienſi, e gente pervetuſta
et nobili oriundo,
ex ordine Prædicatorum,
Doctori Sorbonico,
per annos XL. in Patav. Gymnaſio
Theologiæ Profeſſori.*

*Pluribus ſingular. ingen. atque exquiſitæ
Doctrinæ operibus claro.*

*Divinæ præſertim gratiæ, Romanæ ſedis,
Auguſtinianæ ac Thomiſticæ ſcholæ,
Propugnatori ac vindici acerrimo.*

*Sinens. rituum, quos Clemens XI. Pont. Max.
apoſtolico poſtea mucrone conſixit,
Everſori ſtrenuo atque invicto.*

Viro ſolidæ ac veræ pietatis cultori.

*Hujus Coenobii P. P. ut illius imitatione
Poſteriorum ingenia*

Ad laudem excitarentur M. M. P. P.

Vixit ann. LXXX. Obiit Ann. M. DCC. XXXVIII.

One of the eſtabliſhments of the moſt ſolid benefit, now exiſting in Padua, is the ſeminary, which
was

was almost wholly founded towards the close of the last century, by the illustrious cardinal Barbarigo, whose beatification is now in hand at Rome, and the episcopal virtues of whom drew from doctor Burnet, who knew this prelate, a very extensive panegyric, and in which flattery could have no part. To the seminary's former stock the cardinal added a yearly income of 15000 ducats, which has enabled it to provide with lodging, food, and all the necessaries of life, an hundred young ecclesiastics, who there, with very small expence, and with exemption to the poor, are educated in the spirit of St. Charles and the founder. The present pope, when bishop of Padua, greatly countenanced this foundation, to which is annexed a printing house very well furnished with Latin, Greek, Hebrew and oriental types; it does a great deal of business, and the balance of the profits goes to the house.

Padua has another considerable printing house, that of Joseph Comino, of no small reputation, having under the direction of messieurs Wolpi, professors in the university, printed a great number of editions, not less valuable for correctness, than for the types and paper: three articles in which Italian publications have for a long time been very deficient. Another particular I have observed in the editions of ancient authors which have come from this press, that the most licentious of them, such as Horace, Catullus, Martial, &c. though *ad usum studiosæ juventutis*, are without the least expunction, alteration, or extenuation; thus the mind of the Italians is early familiarised with the free-

doms of poetry, as are their eyes with those of painting: which, perhaps, lessens their effect, and produces an indifference and insensibility in the most reserved Italians at pieces and objects, which our northern Catos adjudge to the flames or utter darkness and oblivion: they are like the savages, in respect of their nakedness, to which the force of custom, as it were, shuts their eyes.

Study is still not without considerable helps at Padua, particularly two numerous libraries, one belonging to the cathedral, and the other to the city, both with many curious and scarce pieces, and open to public use.

Besides these, Padua has, for these two centuries past, been famous for a physic garden, kept with a care and elegance suitable to the value and beauty of its contents. The chief object of our admiration was some Indian willows, very lofty and luxuriant, and the branches bending under tufts of slight twigs and leaves, all interlaced and hanging down to the ground, like so many full bottom perriwigs. Of the same date is likewise its museum of Natural History, the study of which, at present so much in vogue in the northern countries, and the objects appertaining to it, have long since been investigated, known, and even common in Italy; so that with regard to these objects, and indeed to many others, the Italians, if they are not our masters, are our seniors (a).

Fac-

(a) Among the Paduan literati is Benedetto Burdono, who died in 1530, and one of the first to whom geography and cosmography owe any improvements worth mentioning.

He

Facciolati, the historian of Padua's university, whom I have spoken of above, favoured me with a sight of his collection, which, though in another kind, is not less remarkable; it is a series of paintings exhibiting the history of that art since its revival in Europe: it opens with Greek paintings, the imitation of which made the first painters in Italy: these are Madonna's servilely taken off without any taste in the design, and the execution so dry and spiritless, that they are scarce above the Madonnas with which our peasants decorate their cottages. The art gradually displays itself in the following masters: Giotto, Mantegna, the Bellinis, lead to Raphael and Titian; and to these, through a succession of painters, who, according to the success of their attempts, have if not enriched, at least preserved the art, succeed the Carrachi. In a word, this collection reminds the spectator of the gradations observed by Cicero in the monuments of Grecian sculpture*: *Quis non intelligit Canachi signa rigidiora esse, quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed molliora quam Canachi. Nondum Myro-*

He was the father of the celebrated Julius Cæsar Scaliger, who assumed this name in preference to that of his family, choosing rather to be descended from the princes of Verona, than from a plain honest geographer. His son supported the same chimera with a haughtiness which only drew more ridicule on his sham nobility. He even published a manifesto against the oppugners of his genealogy; it is printed with his letters under the title of *Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*. In this presumption Julius Cæsar made good the Italian saying; *Out of his own country every man, forsooth, is a gentleman.*

* Cicero in Bruto, Edit. Robert. Steph. tom. i. p. 227.

nis satis ad veritatem adducta, sed tamen quæ non dubites pulchra dicere. Pulchriora etiam Policleti & jam pæne perfectæ, ut mihi quidem videri solent. Only change the names and you have before you Mr. Faeciolati's cabinet; which, in this point of view, is of infinitely more importance, and is beheld with more satisfaction, than the many splendid and costly collections in Italy, in which, compared to this, one only finds, as it were, *disjecta membra picturæ.*

It is not however absolutely decided that painting, after its expulsion from Italy, owes its revival there intirely to models brought from Greece. Paulus Diaconus in the 23^d chapter of the 4th book of his history of the Lombards tells us, that in the 6th century, queen Teudelinda, spouse to Autharis and afterwards to Agilulf, had the achievements of the first Lombard kings painted on the walls of the Basilic, which that princess erected at Monza, in honour of St. John. This fine art therefore continued in Italy till the 6th century, and even so as to handle sublime subjects; the manner may indeed prove the imperfect state of the art in those times, but it ascertains its existence.

The perpetuity of it down to the 10th century, is expressly demonstrated by a passage of Raterius in the second part of his treatise *de Contemptu Canonum*. This German monk, whom cunning and intrigue raised to the see of Verona, from whence he had been expelled three times, and who, at last died in his monastery of Lobes in Flanders, was not behind hand with the Italians, for the hatred they bore him. In the treatise

tise just now mentioned, which is in the form of a dialogue, he is asked, why, of all christian nations, the Italians are they who express the greatest contempt for the canons and the clergy? He makes answer: *Quoniam quidem libidinosiores eos & pigmentorum Venerem nutrientium frequentior usus, & vini continua potatio & negligentior disciplina facit,* and to these imputations he limits the causes of the contempt complained of; so that, here again, in the 10th century, we find Italy with paintings; and such effect on the morals shews that as to skill they were not without merit. The Italian taste for that kind of painting, must naturally have formed artists, and perpetuated the art: the *frequentior usus* in the passage above quoted, farther shews such a taste to have been very general and prevailing.

In proceeding from the age in which Raterius wrote, to that in which the first painting schools in Italy were formed, we meet with times much more favourable to the perpetuity of the art, than the barbarism of preceding ages. Italy, by the recovery of its freedom in parties, was drawing near to that brilliant prosperity, which it attained by means of the confederacy of the cities of Lombardy, *società de' Lombardi*, about the close of 12th century. The opulence which industry spread among these tribes, whom their union had rendered respectable, at the same time spread among them a fondness for the arts, especially those, which, like painting, had ever been their delight.

We saw at Padua several of the first essays of this fine art; in a chapel near that which contains St. Anthony's tomb, are several of Giotto's

pieces. In a chapel of the Augustines church, Mantegna, one of the first masters of the Venetian school, has painted St. Christophers life in figures of natural size in a convent of nuns. The lady vestry-keeper was very eager to shew us a large service book, where all the capital letters are embellished with miniatures of that master.

Padua, after a long prosperity under the Roman empire, was reduced and destroyed by Attila. On this, according to the most received opinion, the Paduans, leaving their city in its ruins, withdrew among the Lagunas, where they laid the foundations of the city and republic of Venice. A hundred years after, this city, which had been rebuilt of wood, was delivered up to the flames by Agilulf, king of the Lombards. Narfes having rebuilt it in 560, it increased both in largeness and power under the protection of Charlemain and his lineage, who used to appoint particular governors for it. Under the Othos, in imitation of the other cities of Italy, it declared for liberty; but in 1237 its importance drew on it the forces of the emperor Frederic II. who set over it the famous Ezzelin di Romano, whom the Venetian historians make one of the most inhuman tyrants that ever was entrusted with power. Some of the contemporary pens, who have thus blackened Ezzelin, were unquestionably under the influence of that party-spirit, by which those unhappy cities were at times distracted. It is certain, at least, that this prince, or this tyrant, if it must be so, enlarged Padua by above one half; as at this day may be demonstrated by the antient circuit of this city still subsisting. He distributed
into

into the waters of the Brenta and Baciglione for the service of manufactures, which he established and which flourished under his protection. He built a large palace, and part of it is still in being. Farther monuments of his reign are the bridge joining to the palace, and a mill of thirty or forty wheels, not unlike the famous *Bazacle* at Toulon. His neighbours stood in awe of him, the Guelphs dreaded him, and to him Padua owed the enlargement of its territory by several important conquests. In short we have, in our discussion on the ancient state of Romagna, quoted several passages of contemporary authors, which may give an idea of the taste, the magnificence, the luxury and pleasures that prevailed at Padua under this so execrated prince. A croisade, by which part of Romagna was drawn under the pope's colours, deprived Ezzelin of Padua, and transferred it to the Cararas, whose government was no less turbulent abroad than at home, being continually at war with the lords of Verona, the dukes of Milan and the Venetians. At length they in 1403 fell under the last, by whose order, Francis II. who having been besieged in the citadel of Padua, surrendered at discretion to the Venetian general, and repaired to Venice to implore the senate's mercy, was strangled in prison. Three of these princes had died by the hands of their nearest relations and their own children.

All now remaining to Padua of its former trade and manufactories is only one house of foreign traffic, and one cloth manufactory, which Venice still allows for home consumption.

MONTSELICE.

This town, which Leandro Alberti conceives to be the *Acelum* of Pliny and Ptolemy's *Acedum*, shared in all the vicissitudes of Padua, to the domain of which it had been joined by Ezzelin. It was then defended by a citadel of which the site only is now distinguishable. In the yard of the inn we dined at was a bathing vase dug up within these two years, and used as a water trough for horses. Besides being the first antique of that kind which we had seen in Italy, it was of the finest Grecian marble, its form extremely elegant, the workmanship suitably exquisite, and finely preserved, except a bit of the edge which a horse, a few days before, had broke off with his teeth. I asked the landlord whether he had any patron at Venice, advising him to send him this watering trough, as nothing would be more acceptable at Venice, where they never saw any such thing: we have since, at Rome and elsewhere, seen the like bathing vases, which, especially at Rome, are converted to basins for the public fountains, but not one equal to this for exquisiteness and simplicity.

West of Montselice, are *Este* and *Arqua*, or *Arquato*; one famous for the origin of the house of Este, which took its name from it, and the other as the burial place of Petrarch (*a*), who had spent the

(*a*) Concerning Petrarch's sepulchre, Aretino has preserved a remarkable anecdote of a peasant of Arquato, who seems to have been very desirous of coming in for a part of that

the last years of his life there. Farther, and in the same bearing, with regard to Ferrara, is *la Stellata*, where was born Angelo Manzolli, more known by the name of Palingenius, under which he composed the Latin poem called *Zodiacus Vitæ*, allusively to the name of his native place. This puerile allusion little suits such a poem, perhaps one of the most solid and best Latin performances, which have appeared since the revival of literature. The author was physician to Hercules duke of Ferrara, to whom he dedicates the work: the freedom with which the popes, the clergy, and some religious observances are treated, was unquestionably a consequence of the author's acquaintance with protestants, to whom the dutchess of Ferrara, daughter to the good king Lewis XII. graciously afforded a comfortable shelter, against the severity of Francis I. This princess's protection, however, could not secure the *Zodiacus Vitæ* from the revenge of the council of Trent, being set down in the first class of prohibited books; nor the author from the rage of the inquisition, for after his death, his corpse, as I was informed at Ferrara, had been dug up by their order.

that poets immortality. I shall give it in his own words: *Un Contadino di Arquato, il quale non sapea cio che fosse memoria, volse lasciar cento ducati al Piovano della chiesa, perche il corpo suo si mettesse nella sepoltura del Petrarca: à onta tua, ô generosità! à la tua barba, ô gloria! Lib. II. Ep. al Car. C. del 10 April. 1538.* A peasant at Arquato, who knew nothing of memory, took it into his head to leave a hundred ducats to the parish priest, that his corpse, forsooth, might be laid in Petrarch's sepulchre. What a scandal to generosity! what an insult to glory!

To

To this last city we returned through a country continually intersected by rivers and canals, which are either forded or crossed over bridges, or in ferry boats. At all these passes a toll is to be paid, which travellers must see to charge to the Vetturini, or masters of the carriages, in bargaining with them: otherwise there is no end of answering their demands, and they share with the toll gatherers.

After the extortion at Ferrara, which I have related in the article of that city, we thought we could not do better than give ourselves up to our Procaccio; whereas we could not have fallen into worse hands. This man had under him four or five carriages, which had brought the legate's retinue; every day's journey he divided between saying rosaries with a stentorian voice, and making his passengers do the like, and swearing and cursing at his postillions, whose nakedness and emaciated look bespoke their master's temper, and the misery of a country, where people are under a necessity of engaging with such masters. This wretch was so implacable with regard to rosaries, that a jesuit, whom he took up by the way, having refused to join with him, saying, that to pray with such a hardened blasphemer would be offending God, the devout *Procaccio* went to the inquisition, at the town where he sat him down, and informed against him, though the father's breast, stomach, and a great part of his belly were fenced by a large crucifix hanging from his neck.

As to ourselves, his religious indignation went no farther, than frequently muttering the common

mon saying among the Italian mobility concerning the French: *Questa gente non crede in Dio*, those people do not believe in God. Besides, seeing us pretty often reading, and not knowing what our books turned on, he was afraid of treating us with the same abruptness, as he very insolently did those who were unemployed.

These rosaries put me in mind of the troops of pilgrims returning from our lady of Loretto, and who, some on foot, others in chaises or carts, crowded the roads. At our departure from Bologna we had met multitudes of others going to Loretto, so that every night all the towns in Romagna, inns, squares and streets swarmed with them. These troops consist of whole villages, and often with the priest and lord and lady of the manor at their head; their singing, laughing, and bawling, the common practice of such confused crowds, proclaim their approach from afar. On their coming up to us, every one, for the public edification, fell to work with his rosary, singing, or rather howling out the virgin's litanies, and casting a look of pity on us, as miscreants whom God had utterly rejected. Other groupes attacked us from their carts, with the language which passes between land or water carriages at meeting; and this ribaldry pleased us the better, as teaching us some Italian words, which we should not have met with in books, nor our usual conversation. The freedom and coarse merriment, which are the very soul of these parties, open conveniencies for temporary intrigues, which the pilgrims, of both sexes, are well versed in improving: all this they reconcile

cile, as our *Procaccio* mingled rosaries with his oaths and blasphemies.

We had made a written agreement with him that he was to stop in what cities we should meet with on the road. Ancona was the first stage, and he put up at a paltry inn half a league off. We, according to the contract, required that he should carry us thither; but having no magistrate at hand, nor any horses but his, and farther perceiving that his drift, in this contrivance, was to put us under a necessity of hiring horses and postilions to carry us to Ancona; in order to defeat his reckoning, we left a servant with the carriage and footed it forward to Ancona, where we arrived that evening. This, by the way, for the instruction of travellers, who cannot be too much upon their guard, with these upright gentry. No precaution did I neglect: after a little experience, I used to mark down any point wherein I had failed; and by additional articles, made in subsequent negotiations, these treaties were swelled to the length of no small contracts. At first the fellows seemed stunned at this, and came into every thing; but their looks plainly told me, that they had in their heads some trick which escaped my foresight; and, in reality, they proved, by some new artifice, such as I have just now related, that one never thinks of every thing. Lucre is a great point in all their speculations; but they are so fond of plaguing and harassing foreigners, that they never forbear, even when nothing is to be got by it; and on any such opportunity, they say among one another with a kind of extacy: *bo cogli... questo forestiere*, I have b----- that out-landishman,

ishman. In short, to deal with them is to lay a wager that they do not bite you, and they always win.

A N C O N A.

The great difference of this city, from the account given of it by Misson and other travellers, amazed us: "It is surprising, says Misson, how trade is come to nothing in a place which it once made so famous. Indeed, adds he, nothing of this kind should amaze us after such an instance as Antwerp." Ancona makes the very same appearance as Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, and every other city of a large maritime commerce. On our taking a particular view of this city, our amazement encreased; here are a great number of rich magazines; commercial houses, in connection both with the principal places of Europe and the Levant; manufactures most of a recent date, but which time will increase and multiply; very rich Jews, living in handsome houses; lastly counts and marquises, who having shaken off former prejudices, carry on trade and are taken up with invoices and bills. The like industry and activity is seen in the commonalty: The men bringing goods from the harbour into the city, out of the city to the harbour, or from warehouse to warehouse, whilst the women keep at home, that is, in very small chambers, the dwelling-place of the whole family, making sail-cloth; and about the harbour children between seven and eight earn their livelihood in carrying rubbish,

rubbish, *puzzolana* and mortar in hand barrows. Another sure sign of the rising prosperity of Ancona, are the workshops one every where meets with, either for building new houses, or enlarging, and embellishing the former. Amidst this general bustle the monks do not lye dormant: in the article of Ravenna, I have mentioned a fine large church, which the Dominicans of Ancona were building new from the ground.

Such a happy revolution in the condition of this city is a living proof how any sovereign, even a pope, may promote the splendor of his dominions. The whole depends on opening a field for industry. This revolution Clement XII. effectuated by declaring Ancona a free port, by building a Lazaretto, which was done under the inspection of his architect Vitelli; and as the pontiff spared no cost for so worthy a design, so is it a master-piece in its kind; lastly, by granting a toleration for those religions, which the church of Rome has thought fit to cut off from its communion.

The rupture between Benedict XII. and Venice completed what Clement XII. had begun. Ancona, even in its declension, was looked on by the Venetians with an eye of jealousy. The rupture made Benedict XIV. still more intent on restoring the commerce of this city, and he settled particular funds both for rebuilding the weak parts of the former mole, and for lengthening it so as to form a sure fence against the northerly winds, to which the harbour lies open.

The decease of that pontiff had not yet caused any interruption of those works, which put us in mind of the active Tyrians at Carthage. *Instant ardentes*

ardentes Tyrii, &c. But I am apt to doubt whether, now that the Holy See and Venice have made up matters, these noble views will be followed by a Venetian pope, who, besides, may think the church revenues more suitably employed on the continual wants of a city, part of whose inhabitants subsist only from alms-giving.

The old marble mole which was built by Trajan, is divided in its centre by that triumphal arch, which all accounts are full of, and which, with Rimini bridge and the square house at Nimes, is one of the most intire remains of Roman grandeur that I have ever seen. It is still, as I may say, fresh from the mint, as if time and the elements had, in this monument, respected the memory of a prince, who placed his chief delight in making mankind happy. On it is this inscription :

IMP. CÆSARI DIVI NERVÆ F.

NERVÆ TRAJANO

OPTUMO, AUG. GERMANICO, DACICO,

PONT. MAX.

TRIB. POT. XIX. IMP. IX. COS. V. P. P.

PROVIDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI,

S. P. Q. R. QUOD ADCESSUM ITALIÆ,

HOC ETIAM ADDITO EX PECUNIA SUA PORTU,

TUTIOREM NAVIGANTIBUS REDDIDERIT.

On the right-hand under this inscription :

PLOTINÆ AUG.

CONJUGI AUG.

And on the left :

DIVÆ MARCIANÆ.

SORORI AUG.

The opening or bay, formed by this arch, seems to the eye of a height more than double its breadth; a proportion which causes it to appear too scanty, but occasioned by the narrowness of the ground. Indeed if on this narrow space, the bay had been confined to the ordinary proportions, and the arch allowed its present height, the bay would have been a kind of wicket in a mass which would have crushed it; or, had the structure been proportionably contracted, this monument, which was to be a distant land-mark to mariners, would have been a mere bauble, not perceived till one was just on it. In short, the sea being its true point of view, the contractedness of the bay must scarce be perceivable by mariners, whose course is never or very rarely direct to this bay.

The cathedral of Ancona stands on the summit of a promontory, by the ancients called *Cumerum*, and the first site of Ancona. This promontory forms the point of that angle which the Appenine describes, turning there from north southward; after having run eastward from Genoa. To this angle Ancona may be concluded to owe its name, which in the language of the Greeks, by whom it was given, signifies elbow or *flexure*, and not to the curvature made by its harbour, which, in this respect, has nothing peculiar in it from all the harbours in the universe.

The summit of this promontory, which to this day is inhabited, we reached with no small difficulty, against a very strong wind in our faces, though the sky was quite serene. The fatigue, indeed, was such as to make a glass of the cathedral

dral

dral wine very acceptable to me, and I found it answerable to the ancient reputation of the Ancona wines. It is now called *Sirolo* wine, and is the produce of the south declivity of the mountain, on the summit of which stands the citadel.

The cathedral dedicated to St. Quiriacus has replaced a temple formerly consecrated to Venus, and mentioned by Juvenal (*a*): all worth notice in it is some good paintings and its marble portal, which undoubtedly was built at the expence of the old mole; but utterly void of taste or design. From the lobby of this church one sees at a small distance the sea, the harbour, the city, its works and environs, a most delightful prospect; but the wind scarce allowed us a steady enjoyment of it. The situation of Ancona seemed to me something like that of Marseilles, but much more must it have been so, before the people of Ancona had quitted the mountain and settled in the level of the shore; now the only part of it inhabited is the declivity nearest the harbour: its houses, which are cannon proof, communicate with the city and with one another, by streets like steep stairs of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty steps, kept in very indifferent repair, but with landing places, as I may call them, for the cross streets. Such a place as Ancona, before its leaving the mountain, had no need of fortifications to make it impregnable.

Its natural advantages seconded the courage of the inhabitants in the long siege, which

(*a*) Sat. IV. he speaks of a monstrous fish stranded in the harbour:

Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon.

it sustained with success against all the forces of the Goths, though vigorously attacking it both by land and sea: a resistance the more memorable, it being then the only place in Italy remaining to the Romans. It was these advantages and the unanimity of its citizens which likewise preserved it independent, amidst the disturbances of Italy, its restless neighbours, the jealousy of the Venetians, and continual vexations from the popes, whom it acknowledged as protectors, but would never allow to be its masters: with power or courage to stand the threatnings of the Turks, and oppose their frequent descents on its coast, it might, perhaps, have remained independent to this very day. But in 1537, Clement VII. under pretence of its security, built a citadel on the hill parallel to the promontory on which stood the original Ancona, and which consequently commands modern: the upshot was that the artillery and garrison, which he expeditiously poured into the citadel, some Italian practices co-operating, obliged Ancona to acknowledge a master: *sensit Dominum, frænumque recepit.*

Leandro Alberti highly praises, a citizen of Ancona named Ciriaco, as one of the first moderns who made the study of antique monuments his business. Prompted by this curiosity, he travelled over almost all Europe and a great part of Asia and Africa, copying and drawing with his own hand, theatres, circuses, temples, statues, tombs, obelisks, pyramids, triumphal arches, inscriptions, &c. the whole made several large volumes, and the more valuable, as, since the 15th century when he lived, great numbers of these monuments are
come

come to nothing. This perhaps is what led Antonius Augustinus to reproach him with having drawn many of those monuments merely from his imagination. But whether these collections are still in being, or where they are, I know not. Alberti tells us, that in 1534, Peter Apintio and Bartholomew Amantio printed part of them in Germany. When the people with whom Cyriaco lived, or with whom he travelled, minding nothing but gain, used to ask him what he should get by all his expences and fatigues, he would answer with an air of disdain the glory of reviving the dead.

We one day met in the streets of Ancona a very pretty young woman smartly drest, in the habit of a pilgrim, asking alms from door to door; she was squired along by a well-looking man, likewise in the garb of a pilgrim. But I could not forbear lifting up my eyes, on hearing that he was not her husband, and that these pilgrimages are still very common in Italy: they are performed in a calash, and the pilgrims go about the city asking alms; what money is thus gathered goes to the poor; the people like it; and husbands take no umbrage; for to imagine that so pious a work can be made a cloak of to any carnal transactions, *is not to believe in God.*

L O R E T T O.

Ancona is in a higher latitude than Rome, the road to which, after running eastward as far as Ancona, there winds off to the southward. Along the fifteen miles which make the distance

between this last place and Loretto, you leave to the right the ruins of *Cingulum*, a town built by Labienus, one of Cæsar's lieutenant generals, who peopled it with soldiers that had acquired some substance by their plunder among the Gauls. As this country, which lies between the Apennine and the sea, forms a very fertile and delightful plain, so its ancient population was suitable to its pleasantness and fertility. Besides the above *Cingulum*, on this coast were two towns of the name of *Cupra*, another called *Humana* or *Numana*, and *Potentia* a fourth; but of all these nothing now remains except the mention of them in Pliny and Ptolemy. *Auximum* their ancient metropolis is at present inhabited only by the canons and monks, to whom a great part of this delicious country belongs.

* Loretto has superseded *Cupra Montana*, once famous for a temple built by the ancient Tuscans or Etrusci, when masters of this country, that is, before the Gaulish invasion. † This temple was dedicated to Juno-Cupra: *Littoreæ fumant altaria Cupræ*, says Silius Italicus. This epithet seems to denote *Cupra maritima*, which Pliny and Ptolemy have also placed along this coast; but those ancient people who founded this temple, usually made choice of mountains or promontories for this kind of monuments. Besides, the mountain on which Loretto now stands, has a prospect of the sea, and indeed is but at a small distance from it; now such a situation was enough for a poet, who is not tied down to geographical precision, to give it the epithet of *Littorea*.

* Leandr. Alberti,

† lib. 8.

The fathers Turfelini, a jesuit, and Braglioni of the oratory, published in the last century the history of the *Santa-Casa*, that is, of the *sacred bouse*, which for near three hundred years past has drawn all Europe to Loretto. In these histories may be seen the particulars of its removal from Nazareth into Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia to the place where, at last, it is unalterably settled, after changing place no less than three times in the forest with which Loretto was formerly surrounded.

It originally owed its vogue to a vow made there by Julius II. on his being grazed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Mirandola, annexing large indulgences to it, and setting on foot many institutions and buildings. This devotion was likewise a center of union between the people of his dominions and those of the towns of Romagna and Lombardy, whom he had withdrawn from the sovereignty of their respective princes, and brought within the demesne of the church. Loretto became to the modern Romans, what Mont-Albano was to the ancient and the tribes of *Latium*.

This chapel the Carmelites had the cure of, whilst the knowledge and worship of it was confined to its rustic neighbours; but the devotion increasing apace, the founder of the jesuits went in person, and settled fourteen of his disciples there, and Julius III. provided for their subsistence. To these fourteen jesuits Paul IV. added six, at the same time relinquishing to them the

pontifical palace built by his predecessors (a). *Hoc collegium*, says father Tursellini, *non mortalibus solum, sed etiam Beatæ Mariæ cordi fuisse major in dies progressus ostendit* ----- *Constat enim vel advenarum frequentiam, vel donorum copiam solito fuisse longè majorem.*

The communions differing from that of Rome have exerted themselves against this devotion by all the arguments, which reason could suggest, and by many a keen sarcasm. The author of *Mundus alter & idem*, an Englishman, has appropriated to it the third section of his third book, under the title of *Moronie felicitis Paradisus*; as little has Misson spared it; but, in Italy, the credit of the *Santa Casa* is not in the least abated.

We met, in the church itself, an old provençal priest, who told us he came to Italy in cardinal de la Trimouille's retinue, and had lived at Loretto these last forty years. The removal of the *Santa Casa*, he said, he as firmly believed as the Trinity, and the Incarnation. The chief motives for his belief were, 1st. The incorruptibility of a beam which had belonged to the roof, but now lies buried in the chapel floor, and though it was continually trodden under foot, the substance of it was neither diminished or so much as changed. 2. The conservation of the enamel of the sacred porringer, which, though perpetually rubbed by

(a) In the collection of letters di XIII. *Humini Illustri*, see one from Guibert, bishop of Verona to J. B. Mentebuona on the great need our lady of Loretto had of priests, recommendable both for piety and learning, *le quali ambedue parti erano à punto à punto, dello estremo contrario*, both which qualities they greatly wanted. This whole letter bears the stamp of a zeal equally wise and ardent.

chaplets,

chaplets, suffers no waste, and the frictions seem rather to consolidate it. Well, father, said we, when we have spent forty years at Loretto, we may perhaps be in your way of thinking.

The motives of credibility which father Tursellini has accumulated, are more plausible than those of the hoary Provençal; but how are they to be reconciled with the account given by the Chevalier Cotovik, a thorough catholic, an honest Fleming, and a man of great piety, who, out of pure devotion, did in 1598 undertake a journey to Jerusalem, of which in 1619 he published a narrative of great merit, both on account of his attention in viewing things, and the elegant Latin in which he describes them?

In his description of the respectable ruins still existing in the town of Nazareth, he says: *Ad radicem montis, juxta Maurorum Tuguriola, in ipso oppidi ingressu, ubi Dei-para Virgo ab Angelo salutata fuit, inclytum religione templum extitit, Annuntiationi Virginis sacrum, archiepiscopali olim sede præcellens, ex quadrato constructum saxo, columnis marmoreis porphireticisque sublime, per amplum, sumptu & magnificentiâ insigne: uti ex ingentibus columnis, partim confractis, partim sepultis, altissimisque parietibus etiam nunc extantibus colligitur.* He then proceeds to the cripta or subterraneous chapel under the choir of that cathedral, and gives a detail of its construction in these words (a): *Descenditur per gradus lapideos*

(a) Had our traveller been acquainted with captain Seragli's description of Loretto, published in 1665, it would have taught him, part i. c. 21. that the *Santa-Casa* stood under the vault of the subterraneous chapel at Nazareth, and that

pideos duodecim ad locum subterraneum rupi incisum, ubi Virgo Maria ab Angelo salutata dicitur. Is sub ipso chero superioris Ecclesiæ in tres dividitur cellulas sibi coherentes, quarum prima longitudine pedes decem continet, latitudine sex; estque altari decorata lapideo, sicut & media, sed sex tantum perquadrum habet pedes, ut postrema quatuor. In mediâ ab occidentali latere, duas ingentes videre est columnas marmoreas, fusci coloris, candidis internitentibus maculis, distantes inter se pedes quatuor, quarum una Meridiem respiciens, eo fertur posita loci quo Angelus Beatissimam salutavit Virginem, opposita illi ubi precibus intenta sedebat, dum ab Angelo salutaretur (b.)

Let future Turselinis display their sagacity in bringing the church of Jerusalem to correspond with that of Rome; in reconciling Constantine, who, in building the church of Nazareth, had followed a tradition, which went current in his early time, with Boniface VIII. under whose pontificate the *Santa-Casa* landed in Italy; lastly, in

that it passed through this vault, and that in the chapel are still to be seen the vestiges of the spot it occupied: *quod affirmava con giuramento nel ann. 1663. Fra Hiacinto di Cinquefoglie già stato 15. mesi Guardiano di Nazarette.*

(b) The plan and design of this monument were doubtless among those draughts of all the monuments of Greece and the Holy Land, which M. de Nointel, the French ambassador at Constantinople, caused to be taken under his own inspection, by M. Carrey a pupil of Le Brun's. The collection of his designs (a collection the more valuable, as the pieces from which they are taken have since undergone many alterations) was removed from M. Foucault's closet into England, as they at Paris, who most concern themselves about such objects apprehend,

shewing

shewing a piece so fixed, and so very difficult to be removed, as that described by Cottovik, to be identically the same with such a light and ambulatory chamber as that of Loretto.

However it be, the edifices of Loretto have all the magnificence which characterise the plans of Julius II. and which in Leo X. Clement VII. and Sixtus V. met with executors equal to their grandeur. The two former may be supposed acting on the same motives as Julius II: with regard to Sixtus V. to such a soul as his, the love of his country was a sufficient incentive.

The church was built from designs, and under the inspection of Bramante; and in its lobby stands a masterly statue of the last mentioned pope (a), nearly as big as life. The doors, which are of the finest bronze, and proportioned after the manner of the old doors of the Pantheon, form several panels of unequal dimensions, amidst variety of carriages, each with a bas-relief of some scriptural story, the largest spaces being appropriated to the most remarkable events, and the whole of the most correct design and highly finished workmanship. The lower bas-reliefs have suffered by the ardent kisses of the multitudes of pilgrims, who are continually flocking to Loretto. At coming within sight of the church, the pilgrims throw themselves on their knees, and in this posture perform the remainder of their journey. As the church shuts up at noon for all the day, they who come

(a) In it is likewise a very fine fountain; a work of Paul V, to whom Rome is indebted for its most stately embellishments of this kind, so that he has been nick-named *Fontifex Maximus*.

later pay their obeisance to the doors. The lowermost panel of one of the leaves, and which exactly answers to the reach of the people on their knees, represents the murder of Abel, who lies stretched out quite naked, with all the forepart of his body exposed in a projecture of two thirds. Now all this part, though of massy bronze, and of the same cast as the door itself, is nearly effaced by the abovementioned devout osculations (a).

The church forms a Latin cross, with a vast nave, the collaterals of which are but narrow; yet their height nearly equals that of the nave. These collaterals are as I may say wainscotted by a contiguous row of chapels against the wall, from which they project irregularly. The architecture of these chapels is not uniform, but the marbles, paintings, and other ornaments are amazingly splendid and beautiful. Among the pictures is one of Barrocci's in the chapel of the dukes d' Urbino: it is a repetition of his fine Annunciation, which I had seen at Pezaro, with the addition of a straw chair, and a huge cat sleeping on it, all of a heap, without having been awakened by the coming of the Angel. The altarpiece of the parallel chapel is a Last Supper by

(a) The admirable Christ by Michael Angelo, in the Minerva church at Rome, has undergone the like fate, though of white marble. The leg most exposed to these kisses, is in some measure preserved by means of a buskin over it. This is one of Michael Angelo's pieces, on which the Romans place the highest value; and to it indeed may be applied what Quintilian used to say of Phidias's Olympic Jupiter: *Ejus pulchritudo etiam adjecisse aliquid religioni videtur: adeo majestas operis Deum aequavit.*

Simon

Simon Vouet, and which for correctness of design, grandeur of composition, force of expression, and lustre of colouring, may vie with the finest pieces of Italy. Never did I see any thing in France of this master, where all these beauties are combined in so high a degree.

The left wing of the church is taken up with the confessionals of the penitentiary jesuits; of which there is one for every nation, who, by a note on the confessional, are directed to that of their country. There the penitentiaries are on duty the whole morning, every one having at the door of his lodge a large black rod or staff, with which they give a tap on the head of those, who, having no mortal sins on their consciences, expiate the venial by this act of humiliation. In order to which they present themselves on their knees, facing the first confessional. The French penitentiary, on seeing us, left his sentinel box and came up to us; he told us, that though not a day passed without his having to do with French pilgrims, it only made him the more desirous of good company. After walking us about for some time, he offered us his servi es in the most genteel manner, and indeed seemed to us more conversable and friendly than the Provençal priest. I afterwards saw at Rome a very pretty Provençal young woman, who was rambling alone all over Italy, in a pilgrim's dress. She could not sufficiently praise this penitentiary, for his many civilities and good offices.

In the left wing is likewise the choir of the canons, appropriated to this church, which Sixtus V. raised to a bishop's see, in lieu of Recanatì.

canati. This choir and all its appurtenances make a glorious figure, with paintings by the most eminent hands.

Under the cross is the *Santa-Casa*, within a kind of tegument, which cost above 50,000 golden crowns; and all the riches of sculpture have been bestowed, or rather heaped on it. Miffon gives us the plan, the elevations and other particulars of it, with an accuracy which admits of no improvement. The ornaments of this single small piece would suffice for the sumptuous decoration of a whole church. It was built from a design of Sansovin, and not of Bramante, whose head ran so much on antiquity, that he would certainly have borrowed from it some fancy, like that which he took for guide in the little chapel in the convent of St. Pietro Montorio at Rome. Leo X. and afterwards Clement VII. employed on it, as in emulation, the best sculptors of Florence, *Baccio Bandinelli*, whom father Turfelini called *Raphael Coutacii*, *Nicholas Tribolo*, *Raphael de Monte-Lupo*, and *Anthony de San-Gallo*. The bronze doors abovementioned are by the last. All these masters, who were contemporaries, rivals or disciples of Michael Angelo (*a*), striving to out-

do

(*a*) They like him, to all the arts connected with design, added that of poetry, and a digested knowledge of the master-pieces of antiquity in every kind. Accordingly they were either acquainted or corresponded with all the fine geniuses of the *Cinque-cento*. In Annibal Caro's letters, are several monuments of the correspondence between him and those artists. R. de Monte-Lupo having slipt into some indiscretion towards him, he pleasantly tells him: *quando avreste fatto ogni grande errore in questo genere di ceremonie,*
Pesser

do each other in the execution of the ornaments, the Bas Reliefs, and the figures of the prophets and sybils have, in this grand work, erected a monument to the Florentine school, where the taste manifestly shews itself by the manner, which is rather learned than elegant, and lofty than agreeable.

Over the *Santa-Casa* is a cupola, which *tantum se à templi fastigio attollit, quantum fastigium à terra**. This cupola was painted by Pomerancio, who in the calotte has represented the triumph of the virgin, and in the scutcheons the four evangelists. The lustre of that master's colours could not withstand the vapour of the light which is continually burning in the *Santa-Casa*; so that now the four evangelists are scarcely discernible.

The church was filled with crowds of pilgrims, who had flocked hither on account of the nativity, as Loretto's capital solemnity. One of their great acts of devotion is to go round the *Santa-Casa* on their knees, and to repeat these rounds according to their strength or devotion. This odd pilgrimage is accompanied with beating the breast, sobbing, sighing, and weeping, all which the Italians have at command. Sometimes little squabbles happen about precedence, every one striving to be closest to the *Santa-Casa*. Of the ceremonial in this point I am totally ignorant; but I know that the floor on which they thus drag themselves, wears away so fast by the

l'esser voi Scultore porta seco un privilegio che vi rende salvo da ogni stravaganza. Had you committed ever so great a mistake in ceremonies of this kind, your being a sculptor authorises you in extravagancies.

* Turfel. l. 2. c. 14.

continual friction of the knees and feet, that every fifteen years it must be new paved.

As to the inside of the *Santa-Casa*, I shall not be very particular; you are dazzled by the lustre of the gold and jewels glittering all over it, you are stifled by the smoak of several lights which are continually burning in it, and you are squeezed to death by the crowd pressing for a view of a place they hold so sacred. The only thing I could see with any clearness was the *Santa-Scudella*, which is no more than a common earthen porringer broke in many places, and covered only with an enamel, of black shade; but it is strongly cemented in a vessel, the cup and foot of which are of a richness beyond imagination. Every pilgrim is sure to trail about his chaplet in this porringer; likewise water is poured into it, for sick persons requesting such a favour.

I shall observe the same brevity with regard to the treasury.---The enormous quantity of ornaments, of vessels, reliquaries, pearls, and jewels, tire the sight without satisfying it; but it fixes itself with a calm complacency on a Holy Family by Raphael, one of that great master's most pleasing pieces, and on a Nativity of the Virgin by Annibal Carraccio, removed thither from the church where it adorned one of the chapels. Here is also the celebrated Lipsius's pen who consecrated it to our lady of Loretto; and this example has been followed by several bad poets, whose pens are fastened to acrostics, but such as give no exalted idea of the offering. Among all this trash, is a very devout piece by the famous Mark Anthony Muret, concluding with these verses, which
are

are proceeded by a particular account of miracles performed by our lady of Loretto, in behalf of the sick, and persons in danger shipwrecked.

*O ego nunc morbis multò gravioribus æger,
Naufragiumque timens longè exitiosius illo,
Et jampridem animum peccati compede vinctus,
Si possim, morbis liber, vincisque solutus,
Fluctibus & ventis laceram subducere puppim,
Quas tibi lætus agam grates dum vita manebit!
Te cum luce novâ sparget Sol aureus orbem,
Te recinam quoties abscondet opaca diem nox;
Et tua præcipuo venerabor numina cultu.*

The treasury where all these astonishing riches are lodged, is an oblong hall; the proportions, the workmanship of the closets all along its sides, and the corresponding compartments of the roof and pavement are exquisitely beautiful. These riches, however dazzling to the spectator, are far short of what our lady of Loretto is possessed of in lands, securities, bonds and money. The money must, by this time, exceed all computation, since, according to father Turfelini, so long ago as before Leo X. *dena, duodena, quaterdena, senadena, usque ad vicena aureorum milia in arcam quotannis ingeruntur.* Mr. Addison seems surpris'd that such a treasure has not tempted the avidity of the Turks and pyrates. Had he read father Turfelini, he would there have seen the little success several attempts of that kind met with, and how they who had not pilfered any pieces of the treasury, but only picked bits of stones from the *Santa-Casa*, have by a series of misfor-

tunes, which they looked upon as a divine judgment, been obliged to restore them to their place. Concerning this, the father produces a letter of John Suares, archbishop of Coimbra, who construed some remarkable evil which befel him as a divine punishment, and in consequence sent back to Loretto a stone, which he had thus detached from that sacred building, and was not able to keep, though he procured the pope himself to relieve him from the excommunication pronounced *ipso facto* against such sacrileges.

If the same father Tursellini may be credited, the popes and their nephews have never put their hands into this treasury, except only in two exigencies, when totally destitute of all other resources: Leo X. when pressed by the duke of Urbino's troops, took six thousand golden crowns, but restored them within the year; and Clement VII. when pent up in the castle of St. Angelo, by the constable of Bourbon's army, made free with half that sum, but returned it with the like punctuality.

All relations mention the galli-pots of the laboratory on account of the paintings on them, from designs of Raphael. Annibal Caro's letters have let me into the true history of these vessels, which had originally belonged to the house of Urbino. In a letter of the 15th of January 1563, Caro says to the duchess of Urbino (*Viatoria Farnese*) *Con questa occasione che mi ramenta della Pittura, voglio supplicare V. E. à farmi un favore molto desiderato, e à lei molto facile. Il signor Duca suo consorte, fece fare quì molti disegni di varie sceriette per dipingere una credenza di majolica in Urbino,*

brino, la quale e stata finita, e gli disegni sono restati in mano di quei Maestri, i quali ordinariamente non gli hanno ad avere. Se V. E. si volesse degnare di ricuperargli da loro, con monstrare di voler servirsene essa, farebbe à me una grazia singolare e un gran beneficio al Pittor che gli fece qui. Al quale si dovrebbero restituire, poi che senza chiederne premio, v'a così volentieri durata fatica. E di questa grazia la prego quanto più posso:

I take this opportunity, as reminding me of painting, most humbly to beg a favour of your highness, which is extremely wanted, and which you can very easily do. The duke, your spouse, ordered here a great number of historical designs for painting a set of very fine porcelaine utensils at Urbino; which has been done; and the designs were left in the hands of those artists, who usually are not intitled to have them. If your highness would be pleased to order those masters to deliver up the designs, as if you intended to make use of them, it would be a particular favour to me, and a very great benefit to the painter who did them here. To him they ought to be restored, as having gone through the trouble without asking any recompence; and it is a favour for which I most earnestly intreat your highness.

If this passage does not inform us precisely who the author of these designs was, it gives us to understand that he was a master of the Roman school, living in 1563, and one for whom Caro had no small friendship. It might be the celebrated Tadeo Zuccari, who, at that time, was painting the palace of Caprarola for cardinal Far-

nese, from plans which Caro had very particularly laid down to him in a large letter of the 2d of November, in the foregoing year. And in a letter of the 20th of October, the following year, Caro recommends this master to prince Orfino, as the best hand he knew for a grand piece of painting, which that prince intended for his seat at Bomarzo.

The church of Loretto is both the cathedral and parochial church of the whole city. One of the mornings which we spent in viewing it, the corpse of an old servant maid who had belonged to one of the canons, was exposed to public view, the face uncovered, and children all about it driving away the flies from the face and feet, which were also uncovered. Were the interest and conveniency of the priests less connected with the custom of burying the dead in churches, it is from such a church as this, which has so many claims to their respect, that corpses should especially be excluded.

The trade of Loretto is the same as that of all the towns to which pilgrims resort, a large consumption of provisions, and a sale of Madonnas, chaplets, medals, &c. that is to say, the very trade of those men who stirred up the city of Ephesus against St. Paul and Barnabas. I saw whole shops of chaplets and rosaries of various sorts and various prices, some of agate, some of lapis Lazuli and other gems set in gold, which, as I was told, would not be sold under twenty, thirty, and even fifty sequins. This I the more readily belived, as I had not peremptorily declared myself a buyer, and indeed my whole purchase amounted only to
a medal

a medal of four Bajocos (*a*). I shall conclude this article with just mentioning, that soon after the tegument of the *Santa Casa* had been finished, the cupola split, but was secured by the architect San-Gallo. A detail of his process in this very ingenious repair may be seen in the sixth chapter of the third book of father Turfelini's history of Loretto.

M A C E R A T A.

The whole country along this road is fertile and delightful, but very indifferently cultivated, though in the neighbourhood of Loretto. It is, farther, intersected by rivers and brooks issuing from the Appenine, which lies all the way on the right; and by arms of the Appenine, inclining towards the sea, of which one scarce ever loses sight. If the vallies be alluvions gradually formed by the flow of the rivers which water them, it is more than the people know, having no tradition of any such thing.

Three miles from Loretto one passes through Recanati, which may be said to be removed to Loretto, all its inhabitants being now only some seafaring men, on account of its harbour, though but a sorry one, and husbandmen, who are nearer to the lands under their care, than at Loretto.

This town was built out of the Rudera of *Recina*, a colony founded by Pertinax, but destroyed by the Goths, and the ruins of which we passed close by. Two leagues farther, among these

(*a*) A Bajoco, something less than a penny.

ruins, are still distinguished the remains of an amphitheatre; for after the erection of the empire, shews were the capital desiderata for that class of people, of whom colonies were formed: the amphitheatre was the first building which the colonists concerned themselves about, and the strongest inducement to their settling in the place of their transmigration.

Macerata is but a league from these ruins. It is the capital of the marquissate of Ancona, a bishop's see, and the residence of the governor or legate of the province, of his chancery, and of a *Rota* or kind of supreme tribunal. At first this town seemed to us the more populous, as coming nearly at the end of a horse-race, that is one of the greatest diversions, and the only sight now remaining in most of the cities in Italy. Accordingly it had drawn all the nobility of the city and neighbourhood to the legate's palace, so that we still saw at the windows part of this good company, and at the chief balcony the *Palio* or prize, which was a piece of lustring left fluttering in the air. We might have shared in the remainder of the diversion, but rather than disorder our portmanteaus to dress, we chose to mix with the crowd of all ranks, which filled the streets, swarms of priests and monks among the rest, and one and all making for the market-place to see the Merry-Andrews; we, travellers like, followed them.

One of these buffoons sold little Madonnas inclosed within glass, and the better to put off his goods, told a thousand tales about the wonderful protection of his Madonna, who was not that of Loretto. For interlocutor he had a monkey, who acted

acted the part of all the unfortunate persons whom the master laid in wait for, and robbed and murdered in his relations. For all these buffoons, agreeably to the poltroon notions of the people by whom they live, make all the roads in Italy to be full of robbers and ambushes. To these deplorable narratives he added that of a man, who would by no means forgive one of his neighbours for murdering his father. All the maxims on the forgiveness of enemies were set forth: the monkey being questioned concerning the weight of these maxims, used to answer with a grimace, and the whole guilt was laid on him who was for revenging his father. At length the holy Virgin compromised the affair by a miracle, which has slipped my remembrance. But I very well remember that these tales were mixed with frequent elogiums of the priests and monks, their zeal for the salvation of souls, their austerity towards themselves, their condescension to the weaknesses of others, their labours for their neighbour's good, their earnestness in converting sinners, reconciling enemies, and maintaining public tranquility and domestic peace: these elogiums often serve for vehicles to the many impertinencies and absurdities relating to morality and religion, which these buffoons take on themselves to utter, *utraque pascit opem res & conjurat amice.*

The marquissate of Ancona runs along the seashore as far as the Tronto, a river of Abbruzzo. Tolentino is still a part of it. The *Via Flaminia*, on leaving this town, enters among the Appennine mountains, and leads to that part of the ancient Umbria, which at present makes the duchy

of Spoleto. All this country is a succession of plains and vallies watered with little rivers; and if all these vallies be like that of Foligni, they are so many terrestrial paradises.

*Est ubi plus tepeant hyemes ! ubi gratior aura
Leniat & rabiem Canis & momenta Leonis,
Cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum !*

We were then nearly in that season, and found in the plain of Foligni that so pleasing temperature for which Horace celebrates it. The backs of the hills by which we came into it, are covered with olive-trees, whose age proclaims the excellence of the climate. I never saw trees of this kind in any country of such an age, and at the same time so vigorous; the greater part of them are shoots from very old stems, and which, adhering to the primordial root, are become new trees.

F O L I G N I.

In the midst of this delicious plain stands Foligni, where we met with substantial traders, laborious artificers, and husbandmen, from whose understanding and industry all other parts of Italy should take example. Industry here has indeed many incentives, the fertility of the soil, immense pastures for grazing, considerable paper manufactures, and a fair of great business. In the times of the antient Romans, the *grandes Victimæ*, were the

the product of the meadows watered by the Clitumnus :

*Hic albi Clitumne, greges & maxima Taurus
Victima, sæpè tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere triumphos.*

Virgil. Georg. II.

*Leta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
Iret, & à grandi cervix ferienda Ministro.*

Juven. Sat. XII.

This river which runs in the valley of Foligni seems indeed to carry along with it a chalky sediment, as does the Chiento which we had skirted when in the Marche; it is on the latter that the most considerable paper manufactures are carried on, yet is this paper very beautiful and smooth, and the least apt to tear of any.

The cathedral of Foligni is a Gothic building, a style which for a very long time we had lost sight of. In a large closet, on the right of the sanctuary, stands in silver, and rather bigger than life, the statue of St. Felician, one of the first bishops, and patron of the diocese. This statue, which represents the bishop sitting, is a fine performance of le Gros, a French sculptor, who from trade jealousies settled at Rome, where he died in 1719. The sight of this monument of the piety and good taste of the Folignians, we owed to the officious civility of a young chorister. He afterwards led us to the monastery, famous for that fine painting of Raphael, of which all accounts speak so highly. This officiousness

ficiousness was no novelty to us, but his refusing the *buona mancia* which we forced on him was new, and, indeed, unprecedented; so little affinity is there between the climate of Foligni, and that of all Italy besides. May not this singular disinterestedness be the effect of a spirit of industry, no beggary of any kind being seen in Foligni?

Among several sacred corpses which this cathedral is possessed of, we saw that of a female saint, who came from Rome; but the name given her does not promise much sanctity, she is called *Messalina*. We might likewise have seen that of the beatified Angela, a Franciscan nun, whom the cordeliers keep in flesh and bones. Such corpses are very common in this part of Italy from Bologna: but our curiosity had more than enough in the sight of the beatified Catharine of Bologna. All these beatas, thus preserved, are almost all of the Franciscan or Dominican order, and lived at the time when the mendicant orders were at the head of the regular clergy.

These incorruptible bodies put me in mind of those which I have since seen in the porch of St. Nicholas's church at Toulouse. These last, which are very well preserved, stand on the edge of a lofty cornice within the porch. The skin of the cheeks being shrivelled in the drying, lays open their teeth, so that they make a grimace not unlike that of laughter. Concerning these corpses and their grimace, I was told at Toulouse that M. de Maupertuis, who had on him at that time the disease of which he died, was very seriously viewing them; but the solitary reflections to which such objects gave rise, were interrupted by a peasant, who,

who, pulling him by the arm, asked him if it was not he who made the Paris almanack, and he could not tell him what those dead folks were laughing at? laughing, friend! why, they are laughing at the living, answered M. Maupertuis with a lugubrious accent. The beatified in Italy having been prepared more skilfully than those laughers of Toulouse, their cheeks have nothing of that grin which gave occasion to the peasant's question.

At Foligni we saw instances of the zeal of the Italian parish-priests, for the strict execution of the canons of the council of Lateran, *omnis utriusque sexus*. On the last Sunday of Easter fortnight, they give notice that on the revival of the tickets issued out to communicants, and of which they keep duplicates, they with great grief find that all their parishoners have not communicated, and exhort those who have failed to discharge that duty. These exhortations are repeated four or five Sundays following in a monitory form, and with threats of excommunication. They who still continue in the fault are excommunicated, but without naming them; afterwards they are excommunicated by name; at last, the excommunication is set up at the church doors. On the door of the chief parish-church was a placard of this kind, with the names of twenty excommunicated persons, their surnames, age, and place of abode. Four or five had got the excommunication taken off since the placard had been set up, and their names were crossed, yet still plainly legible. It is not excommunication itself which the Italians fear so much, as the temporal evils attending it.

Many

Many dreadful events of this kind have I been told, particularly of one excommunicated person, stabbed by his own wife whilst asleep in bed with her. It is only in small places that these excommunications are practised. In great towns, Rome for instance, as parochial duties may be performed in the chapels of monasteries, the priest has no direct authority over the parishioners, but for baptism and the last sacraments; and it is only in these that the parishioners stand in need of the priest's ministry; who, accordingly, is nicknamed, *il Fachino dell Oglio Santo*, the holy oil carrier.

At Foligni we were informed, but too late, that in the village of Palo, from whence, in coming from Loretto, we had the first sight of Foligni, is to be seen a natural grotto in the very side of the mountain on which that village stands; that this grotto, though of a vast extent, is full of congelations and *Lusus naturæ*, and that all foreigners, after seeing most wonders of this kind, have expressed great admiration of it.

* We were then in the height of the *Intemperie*, that is, of that season, when the Romans both in town and country neglect no precaution against the dog-days, which, in the verses abovementioned, Horace calls,

*Rabiem Canis & momenta Leonis,
Cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum.*

These precautions are to make choice of a settled dwelling either in town or country, lying

* Beginning of September.

always

always in the same room and in the same bed, and without so much as changing its position; keeping within doors and well covered both at the rising and setting of the sun; avoiding bodily fatigues, and no less free from all intemperance and vexation of mind, and using a moist diet: they who happen to be coming to Rome in this dangerous season, are not to sleep on the road, nor expose themselves to the air but gradually; lastly, all, without exception, are to eat as little as possibly towards night. Foreigners, and especially the French, will not subject themselves to these precautions, looking on them as so many superstitious shackles: so thought a young abbé who had reached Rome before the bishop of Laon, under whom he had been appointed as secretary of the embassy: imagining he might live at Rome as they do in autumn about Paris, he visited the cardinals and Roman princes at their estates, rambled from seat to seat, every day a new lodging and bed, thus bidding defiance to the *Intemperie*; and from his vivacity and health proving how weak and groundless their apprehensions were: but short was this triumph, a fever of the most fatal kind carried off this rash abbé, which confirmed the Romans in their prejudice, though they tell a thousand such instances.

These effects of the dog-days on the air are felt more or less in all parts of Italy lying north of Rome. At Venice they are extremely troublesome, when the *Sirocco*, or south wind drives thither the exhalations of the campagna of Rome. This *Sirocco* disables the arms and legs, stupifies the

the head, and brings on the whole body an uneasiness, like that of a fever. At first we could hardly keep our countenances at the condition of the Venetians, fixed like images in their great chairs; and on our asking what ailed them, scarce able to lift up their eyes to heaven to answer *Sirocco*! but we soon came to know by ourselves what to think of this condition, which is precisely what is called being foundered. Our custom of bathing early in the morning in the sea was of some efficacy against it.

At Rome, and all over the adjacent level country, the *Intemperie* sets in about the middle of July and lasts till the rainy season, which, sometimes, is not before the middle of October. In this sultry interval the sky is continually brass, and all the water which the earth gets, is from dews and tempests, the former very copious, the latter rare; but stupendous both in the bursts of thunder and the torrents of rain. During this drought the air of Rome, under a most serene sky, is loaded with ruffet, inflamed and fetid exhalations, according to the intenseness of heat. In the excursions which I used to make about Rome early in the morning, I could follow the progress of these exhalations, which condense and ascend with the sun. I never observed them more distinctly than in a walk I took to S. John Lateran in the morning of an extremely hot day. At Constantine's baptistery, they were as visible in the rays of the sun, which came in through the south door, as the dust raised by a broom in a chamber which had not been swept for some time. As to the smell, it was that of a most subtile alkali. Is it
there

then any thing strange that bodies should be affected by effluvia of such a nature?

Some physicians have laboured to find out the causes of this *Intemperie*, and the most proper remedies for restoring the salubrity of the air. In the supplement to the Roman antiquities, I have perused some treatises on those heads, which had been inserted by Salengre. I have read that of Doni *de restituendâ salubritate agri Romani*, printed at Florence in 1667, together with that of Lancisi printed at Rome 1711; but not one thing did they tell me, which is not in every body's mouth: all impute to one particular cause, what unquestionably is owing to the concurrence of the several following.

1. The Pomptini or Pomtini fens, which may be called the south-gate to the campagna, were noted for their dangerous exhalations, even in the republican times. The consul Cethegus, and after him several emperors, set about draining them, and to them the commentators applied these lines of Horace.

*Sterilis dudum palus, aptaque remis,
Vicinas urbes alit, & grave sentit aratrum.*

Yet fifty or sixty years after Augustus, Silius Italicus called the country bordering on them, *Pestiferos Pontinâ uligine campos*. They had, doubtless, been again put into heart under the following emperors, who accordingly had caused them to be registered in the terrier of taxed lands. The declination of the empire having reduced them to their former

former condition, *Honorius*, by a law of the first year of his reign, directed to the *praefectus praetorio* for Italy, discharged from all taxes and impositions 528042 acres, become unfit for tillage. I shall insert this law, which has not hitherto been applied to its real object, and which commentators and all the historians of the empire quote as a proof of *Honorius's* munificence and attention to the relief of his people,

52080842 *jugera quæ Campania Provincia, juxta Inspectorum relationem, & veterum monumenta Chartarum, in desertis & squallidis locis habere dignoscitur, iisdem Provincialibus concessimus, & Chartas superflue descriptionis cremari censemus.*

Theodoric, one of the most liberal princes that ever sat on a throne, restored, by means of immense works, their equilibrium with the sea. Some popes have formed projects to this purpose, and even endeavoured to carry them into execution, but their works have scarce outlived them. The settling a numerous population along these marches would be the only remedy against their noxious effects, as we may suppose they were not much felt in those early times, when, as *Pliny* asserts on the authority of ancient memoirs, these fens had on their banks no less than thirty substantial country towns. It was in allusion to the exhalations which they spread through the campagna of Rome, that a poet gave the epithet of *plumbeus* to the south wind: *Plumbeus Auster*. Under a less parching sky, what would the country of Holland be at present, were it reduced to some scattered villages on the downs, a situation just sufficient to be a barrier against inundations?

2dly,

2dly, The *campagna* of Rome would be less exposed to these exhalations, were the fens, from whence they arise, masked by some forest intercepting these exhalations. There are indeed woods between Veletri and these fens; but these woods are all of lofty trees ill kept, and the far greater part hewn down as low as the waist. Besides they are either corks or elms, too knotty and at too great distance from one another, to arrest or obstruct the circulation of the air. Not that the soil will not admit trees of a better kind, but in an uninhabited country, and under a very weak government, it is only the danger of forests that is minded, as, if they were not kept thin, they would serve for lurking places and shelters to all kinds of robbers.

3dly, I have heard Romans lay the cause of the *Intemperie* on the vapours of Solfatara near Puzzolo, which the south-east wind drives full on the *campagna*, ever since Sixtus V. caused a forest to be cut down which intercepted them. They affirm, that whilst that forest was standing, the air of Rome was in the very heat of the dog-days clear from those sulphureous, aluminous, and vitriolic spirits with which it is at present infected. Sixtus V. demolished that forest on the very same account, which has thinned the woods between the Veletri and the Pontini marshes.

4thly, Others lay the blame on the custom of the farmers in the levels, of setting fire to the stubble immediately after the corn is off the ground: the end of which is to destroy the vermin, and to manure the ground with the ashes, of which there is the greater plenty, as the

stems, besides being very close and strong, are not cut lower than the waist, for the same reason as the wood fellers have in not cutting the trees lower, that is, to save the workman's labour.

5thly, The plain which the compagna of Rome now occupies, was formerly covered with seats, where art concentrated all the beauties and delights of which gardens are susceptible. These mansions, distinguished by the appellation of *Villæ Suburbanæ* *, were the more splendid and enchanting, as the Romans on every interval of leisure hastened to enjoy themselves in these recesses. In so parching a climate, water being a capital article of ornament and delight, its course from the mountains was soon distributed so as to fill lakes and supply canals, fish-ponds and baths. This magnificent tract being afterwards reduced to a desert, the water still follows many of the descents which had been contrived for it, and thus spreading itself over the country without its former receptacles, or any constant issue, it stagnates amidst the inequalities of the ground, and certainly these stagnations may very much contribute to the canicular pestilences.

But to all these there is a primary cause, as seed and germ of them, and this is the total depopulation of this fine country. Restore to it but a part of the men which formerly swarmed here, and the waters will soon have constant issues; other manures than stubble ashes will be found out; the woods will be kept and felled to the proprietor's greatest advantage; and thus they will be impenetrable barriers against the vapours;

* See Cicero, Pliny, Strabo, &c.

and lastly the Pontine fens, these *pestiferi Pontinæ uligine campi*, will by cultivation become an inexhaustible source of various products and opulency.

In a word, this fine country is unhealthy because dispeopled, and bare of people because unhealthy: in nature, as in morality, the same things are often seen to be reciprocally both cause and effect; what in some respects is cause or principle, becoming effect or consequence in others. The relations between depopulation and the *Intemperie* evince, that the only remedy for the latter must be population; that whatever other remedies may be taken in hand, they are all insufficient and of no effect: in a word, that this capital remedy includes every other.

Such is the present condition of that *Latium* which Virgil addressed in these beautiful verses

*Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum, &c.**

Of these appellations the only one now applicable to it is the epithet of *Saturnia*, and this on account of its decrepit appearance and the sovereign's perpetual senility. Of these fertile tracts, such only are now cultivated, which belong to wealthy communities, or to noblemen who are able to have lands, lying at a distance from all dwellings, kept in good condition. Thus cultivation here is supported by large possessions, that is, by the very cause, which, in other climates, and other governments, proves its destruction. This want of husbandmen living on the spot, or

* Georg. lib. 2.

annexed to the glebe, is supplied by the descendants of the ancient Sabines, who come down in bodies from the mountains, and give the grounds that very superficial tillage, which yet is sufficient to make them produce in the most copious fertility. I have seen these peasants *sabellis ligonibus versare glebas*, drawn up in a row of twenty, forty, fifty persons of both sexes, and all ages; they take a field, either length or breadth wise, and advancing always in a parallel line, as it were, scratch the earth, keeping time, and dismally chanting old ballads.

At Loretto getting rid of the devout Vetturino who had supplied us with horses at Ferrara, we had taken others for Spoleto, which is nearly the place where the *Intemperie* begins to be felt. Here we spent some hours in bed, but at our rising found our apartment infected with a smell much stronger and more acrid than that of any jakes. The cause we were told was the *Aria*, and, indeed, on opening the windows to breathe more freely, we found the air abroad quite answerable to the sample which we had of it in our apartment.

We took post at Spoleto, and with transport saw the rising sun diffuse its beams over the delicious plain which separates Terni from Narni; two places, however, remarkable for nothing but for having given birth, the former to Tacitus the historian, and the latter to the emperor Nerva, to whom mankind owed fourscore years of felicity.

Terni is the last town of the ancient Umbria, and now opens the renowned Latium, watered by
the

the Tiber. Citta-Castellana, the first town one comes to, is commonly thought to be the ancient *Fescennium*, from whence the Romans imported the *Fescennine* verses, a kind of burlesque style appropriated for particular pieces, the aim of which was only to please the mob. This opinion the learned Dominic Mazocchi attacks in a quarto which he published at Rome in 1646, where he proves Citta-Castellana to be the city of Veii, so famous in the first century of the Roman republic.

The sight of this country might well corroborate the account which had been given us of the *Intemperie* and its dismal effects. In all the places where we changed horses, only some of the most resolute men were remaining to attend the post business and a wretched inn; and these having the fever to a man, regulated their attendance according to the intervals of the fit. By the sight of these wan, livid phantoms, who likewise were either emaciated or bloated, one would have little thought to have been in that sweet country of Papamania, of whose happy inhabitants it is said,

Triumphant plenty with a cheerful grace
Basks in their eyes and sparkles in their face.

The very finest tracts and the least cultivated are along the five last leagues in the way to Rome; they have, indeed, in a great measure no other cultivation than from the waters, which, being left to themselves, and spreading spontaneously into the receptacles formerly made by human labour, will

be an insurmountable obstruction to cultivation, till such beds be opened as are capable of containing them.

These tracts are strewed with ruins of the magnificence and luxury of the ancient Romans, so that the ground is, as it were, cut out by the variegated designs of gardens, of which the capital parts are still discernible; as large pieces of water, barrows, terrasses, and amphitheatres. With these ruins are intermixed those of buildings and temples, now reduced to hillocks and confused *Rudera*.

Amidst this waste and this pestilential air it is, that Rome lifts its towering head, the grandeur and majesty of which seems still to proclaim the queen of nations and the mistress of the universe. Answerable to this grandeur are its approaches, being formed by rows of palaces; in a word, the view it offers to those who enter it by the *Popolo* gate, compels the very French themselves to acknowledge the superiority of the Roman taste for machines and superb decorations.

It was the 5th of September about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we arrived at Rome. The hunger we brought with us, was not a little increased by the many ceremonies, which we were obliged to go through, before we could get a dinner. Four cooks to whom we successively applied, offered us their assistance, and followed us to a fifth, who was at last able to prepare a dinner for us. The four first assisted him in preparing it, waited upon us and put in their claims, over and above the price of the dinner, which was thereby doubled.

A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING

PIECES RELATIVE TO THE ARTICLE
OF VENICE.

1754, 7 Settembre.

I N P R E G A D I.

Alli Rettori, Principali della Terra Ferma, Capi di Provincia, e li Proveditori Generali di Mare, e di Dalmazia, ed Albania.

R E S I S I oramai troppo osservabili i molti, e varj abusi insensibilmente introdottisi nel Dominio nostro dalla Sregolata libertà de' sudditi d' ogni grado e condizione, da quali vengono impetrate Bolle, Brevi, Rescritti, ed altre Carte di fuori, le quali non tutte, come prescrivono tante pubbliche Leggi, sono assoggettate alla revisione, cosicchè molte vengono eseguite

B b 4

clandestinamente

1754, September 7.

At the P R E G A D I-H A L L.

To the governors, rulers of the continent, heads of provinces, and the purveyors general of the sea, and of Dalmatia and Albania.

AS it is notorious that many and various abuses have been insensibly introduced into our dominions, by the licentiousness of our subjects of every rank and condition, by whom are obtained bulls, mandates, rescripts, and other papers from abroad, which are not all, as so many public laws direct, subjected

clandestinamente senza essere nel Collegio nostro licenziate, con delusione de' savj, e caritatevoli provvedimenti emanati pel proposito, con detrimento dell' Ecclesiastica Disciplina, delle ben' introdotte consuetudini; e con turbazione della tranquillità pubblica, è venuto in deliberazione il Senato di andar' incontro vigorosamente, a tanti disordini, e di rinnovare e confermare tutte le antiche provide Leggi nel proposito, e di fermamente stabilire, che non possa da chi si sia sotto qualunque pretesto esser' eseguita alcuna Bolla, Patente, Breve, Rescritto, Citazione, Monitorio, o Carta generalmente di qualsivoglia natura, che venga di fuori, se prima non sarà presentata in Collegio per esser riveduta e Licenziata, in pena di nullità dell' esecuzione, e di quel castigo, che meritasse la qualità del contrafattore, e la gravità della trasgressione. Dietro a questa deliberazione v' incarica il Senato di doverla immediatamente far pubblicare in tutti i Luoghi soggetti
alla

to revival; many being clandestinely executed without licence from our college, in violation of the wise and salutary provisions made upon the occasion, to the prejudice of ecclesiastical discipline, of customs wisely introduced, and to the disturbance of the public tranquility: the senate has therefore deliberated upon taking measures to make a vigorous opposition to so many disorders, to renew and confirm all the ancient laws made upon the occasion, and to establish it as a law, that there should not, under any pretext whatever, be executed any bull, patent, brief, rescript, summons, mandate, or paper of any nature whatever, that comes from abroad, if it is not first presented to the college to be revised and privileged, upon pain of nullity of execution, and such punishment as is incurred by the quality of the person guilty of such fraud, and the heinousness of the crime. After this deliberation the senate charges you to cause it immediately to be made public in all places subject to your jurisdiction, that it may

alla vostra rappresentanza a chiara intelligenza, a notizia d'ognuno, facendola pervenire alle rappresentanze alla vostra superiorità subordinate, invigilando, che siain conformità puntualmente eseguita, e specialmente rendendola nota alle Curie Ordinarie Ecclesiastiche, ed agli Officiali delle medesime.

Ma perche con grave sentimento dell' Animo del Senato si è inteso essere, oltre quello della sregolata esecuzione di tali Carte, invalsi molti altri particolari disordini nelle impetrazioni sconsigliate, che quotidianamente si fanno delle medesime; vi resta commesso di dover' in conveniente forma far sapere agli Ordinarij Ecclesiastici, che si trovano nei Luoghi della Giurisdizione nostra, essere risoluta mente del Governo, che sia posto debito confine a tale abuso.

E perciò essendosi introdotto, che ad ogni Chiesa Campestre, Oratorio, ovvero Altare, vengono impetrati Brevi d'Indulgenze e di Privilegj perpetui, o temporanei, senza osservarsi la debita discrezione, onde succede,

be clearly understood and generally known to every body, causing it to be sent to the jurisdictions subordinate to yours, taking care that it be punctually executed, and, in particular, making it known to the common ecclesiastical courts, and to the officers belonging to the same.

But because to the great grief of the senate information is received, that, besides the licentious execution of such papers, many other particular abuses in the irregular obtaining of them have prevailed; it is therefore recommended to you to make it known in proper form to the ecclesiastical ordinaries belonging to the places subject to our jurisdiction, that it is the firm purpose of the government, that an end be immediately put to such abuse.

And therefore a custom having been introduced, that in every country church, or at every altar, there are obtained briefs of indulgence and perpetual or temporary privileges, without proper precautions being observed; from whence it

comes

succede, che per il mal' uso di queste spirituali grazie, con fini d'interesse, di vanità, e tal volta peggiori si diminuisce piuttosto, che si accresca la divozione, e la riverenza de' Fedeli verso le medesime, affinchè si mantenga ne' sudditi la stima a quelle dovuta, e la venerazione, si è stabilito, che non saranno in avvenire licenziati simili brevi, o Privilegj, se all' impetrazione de' medesimi non avrà preceduto una Legale Attestazione d'essi ordinarij, che tali Indulgenze, o Privilegj abbiano a servire di edificazione e profitto spirituale de' loro Diocesani : nel rilasciar le quali Attestazioni eccitarete seriamente in pubblico nome essi Ordinarij a non rendersi facili, ma ridur la cosa a termini di convenienza, i quali salvino gli oggetti di questa publica deliberazione.

Noto farete inoltre agli Ordinarij medesimi, che quelle concessioni e Dispense, che possono da essi rilasciarfi

comes to pass, that by the abuse of these spiritual graces and the mixture of interested or vain ends, and sometimes ends of a worse nature, the devotion and reverence of the faithful towards them is rather diminished than increased; that a due esteem and veneration for the said spiritual gifts may be maintained, it is ordained that no such briefs or privileges shall for the future be permitted, if the obtaining of them has not been preceded by a legal attestation of the said ordinaries, that such indulgences and privileges are likely to tend to the edification and spiritual welfare of their diocesans; and whilst you permit such attestations, you shall in the name of the public seriously exhort such ordinaries not to be too indulgent in their grants, but to settle the affair on such a footing as may answer all the purposes of this public deliberation.

You shall farther make it known to the ordinaries themselves, that as those concessions and dispensations may be granted by

them

rilasciarfi ai Diocesani rispettivi in forma del Jus proprio ordinario, delle Disposizioni Canoniche, o di Privilegj, non sarà in avvenire licenziata alcuna Bolla, Breve, o Rescritto, che venisse impetrato di fuori, tanto maggiormente che per lo più s'ottengono per le cause leggiere supposte, senza necessità, o utilità della Chiesa in delusione delle Disposizioni Canoniche della buona Disciplina.

Saranno pertanto esclusi dal Licenziamento tutti quelli Brevi, che venissero in avvenire impetrati senza pubblica licenza da concedersi in casi assai varj, per ordinazioni da farsi extra tempora, non osservati i debiti Interstizj, e prima degli anni stabiliti agli ordinandi da sagri Canonici, essendo pur troppo presentemente moltiplicato il numero de' Sacerdoti, senza che se ne promuovano d'età immatura, onde non mai edificazione, ma sovente succede scandalo ne' Popoli.

Occorre ancora, che le Dispense matrimoniali per lo più s'impetrano in Curia senza prima esaminarsi la
legittimità

them to the respective diocesans in virtue of their petuliar ordinary jurisdiction, of canonical dispositions and privileges, therefore no bull, brief, or rescript obtained from abroad shall be licenced for the future; and the more, as they are, generally speaking, obtained under trifling, or false pretences, without any necessity or advantage to the church, in violation of the canonical dispositions of good discipline.

Therefore all those briefs shall be excluded licence, that shall, for the future, be obtained without public licence, which is granted in various cases, for ordinations made out of time, without the proper intervals being observed, and before the years appointed for ordination by the sacred canons, the number of the priests being, at present, too much multiplied, without those of unripe years being promoted, which is so far from edifying the people, that it often gives occasion to the most flagrant scandals and abuses.

It happens likewise, that matrimonial dispensations are,
generally

legittimità de' motivi, e delle cause; onde la volgare idiota gente particolarmente, spesse volte doppo averle impetrate, ed aver perciò incontrati dispendj gravissimi al povero suo stato, trova difficoltà nell' esecuzione, che ad essi Ordinarij, o ai loro Officiali viene commessa, ed incontra opposizioni insuperabili nella verificazione de' Fatti esposti in Curia, con perdita luttuosa delle spese inutilmente gettate, e con necessità d'incontrarne di nuove. Farete però noto ai medesimi, che non sarà da qui in poi licenziata alcuna Dispensa matrimoniale, a cui prima, che venga impetrata, non sia preceduta un' Attestazione legale del proprio ordinario d'essersi ben' esaminate, e verificate le cause impellenti alle impetrazioni, nel che pure eccitate il loro zelo a prestar' opera diligente, perchè non segua in ciò abuso contrario alle Costituzioni della Chiesa, alle massime del Governo, o che possa riuscir' in danno de' loro Diocesani.

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generally speaking, obtained in court without the lawfulness of the motives, and causes being first examined; whence the vulgar, in particular, often after having obtained them, and been at an expence very hard to be borne by persons in their narrow circumstances, find great difficulties in the execution, which is committed to the said ordinaries, or to their officers, and meet with insurmountable opposition in the proof of facts laid before the court, with the unhappy loss of the money thrown away to no purpose, and the necessity of being at new expences. You shall therefore make it known to the same, that henceforward no matrimonial dispensation shall be licenced, which has not, before being obtained, been first preceded by a legal attestation of the ordinary, that the motives were duly examined, which caused it to be applied for, in which you shall stir up their zeal to do their utmost, that there may not in this follow any abuse contrary to the constitutions of the church, the maxims of government, or which may prove prejudicial to their diocesans.

The

*Gl. inconvenienti, che in qualunque luogo sono occorsi circa la Riduzione delle Messe, le quali dipendono dalle Testamentarie disposizioni de' sudditi, hanno dato impulso a deliberare relativamente alla legge 1480, 22 Dicembre, che non passano nel Dominio nostro impetrarsi, ovvero eseguirsi Brevi, Rescritti, o altre Carte in questo proposito, senza previa pubblica licenza, e senza l'ascolto degli eredi, e di quelli, i quali nelle medesime disposizioni aver potessero in qualche forma titolo, ovvero interesse. Doverete però render nota agli ordinarij predetti questa pubblica volontà. Ai Superiori de' Monasterj, Case, Collegj, Conventi, e Congregazioni de' Religiosi farete intendere, che coll'oggetto di preservare nelle Comunità loro Religiose la quiete, e di levare il fomento alla vanità, al rilassamento della Disciplina, come anche di preservare l'osservanza delle Regole, colle quali i loro rispettivi Istituti sono stati ammessi ne' pubblici stati, si è deliberato, che non
sia*

The inconveniencies which may have happened in any place relative to reducing the number of masses, which depend upon the wills of the subjects of the republic, have given occasion to resolve with regard to the law of 1480, 22 December, that there should not be obtained in our dominions. or executed briefs, rescripts, or other papers to this effect, without previous public licence, and without the approbation of the heirs, and of those who in these same dispositions might in some form or other have a title or real interest. You are therefore to make known this public resolution to the said ordinaries. You shall likewise give the superiors of monasteries, houses, colleges, convents, or religious congregations to understand, that in order to preserve quiet in their religious communities, and to prevent the growth of vanity, the relaxation of discipline, and likewise to cause the rules to be observed with which their respective institutes have been admitted in public states, it is resolved that henceforth no person belonging to a religious order
shall

sia lecito senza licenza nostra a qualunque Persona religiosa d'impetrare a proprio talento Brevi, e Rescritti di grazie, o di Privilegi, ovvero Commissioni, li quali facciano effetto di dispensare ovvero di alterare le Costituzioni de' loro Istituti summentovati, e che venendo forse impetrati, oltre la debita correzione dovuta a chi contrafacesse, non saranno licenziati.

La licenziosità di molti sudditi, che con modi spesso indiretti continua a procurarsi in Curia Bolle di Rinunzie ad favorem; o vero Coadjutorie con futura successione ne' proprj Benefizj, non ostante, che tali abusi sieno detestati da sacri Canonj, proibiti espressamente da Concilj, e contrarij alla pubblica mente, li quali poi anche tornano in detrimento del diritto degli ordinarij Collatori, in notabilissimo dispendio delle private famiglie, ed in danno dello stato, per le gravi somme di denaro, che escono, hanno mossa la carità del Senato a provvedere, e decretare, che in avvenire non sia lecito a qualsivisa Ecclesiastico del Dominio nostro far' altre

shall be suffered to obtain briefs, or rescripts of favour, or privileges, or of commissions which may have the effect to dispense with, or alter the constitutions of their institutes; and that if they should happen to obtain them, besides the punishment incurred by him that transgresses, the briefs and rescripts shall not be licenced.

The licentiousness of many subjects, who often by indirect methods continue to procure in the Roman court bulls of renunciation, *ad favorem*; or coadjutorial bulls with future succession to their benefices, notwithstanding such abuses are detested by the sacred canons, expressly prohibited by councils, contrary to the view of the public, and afterwards prove prejudicial to the rights of the ordinary collators, a great expence to private families and a loss to the state, by the great sums of money of which it is drained; hath moved the charity of the senate to provide and decree that, for the future, it shall not be lawful for any churchman

altre rinunzie de' proprj Benefizj posti entro le pubbliche Diocesi, che quelle prescritte da Canonj della Chiesa, e da Concilj predetti; nè sia permesso il far de' medesimi nella Curia Romana rinunzia ad favorem, ovvero impetrar Bolle di Coadjutorie con futura successione sotto qualunque pretesto, con pena a chi trasgredisse di conveniente correzione, secondo la qualità delle Persone, e della contrafazione. Doverete pertanto render noto anche questo provvedimento agli ordinarij predetti, che se qualche particolar caso meritasse eccezione, non sia altrimenti lecito di poter farsi, che prima s'abbia ottenuta pubblica permissione, da non esser presa se non colle dovute ristrettezze, previe le altre stabilite formalità, e intese ancora le attestazioni de' rispettivi ordinarij.

Sarà per fine cura della diligenza, e zelo vostro di ritrarre dalle rispettive Cancellarie Vescovili, Abbaziali, Capitolari, e da qualunque altra Prelatura ordinaria

man of our dominions to make any renunciations of their own benefices within the public dioceses, except those prescribed by the canons of the church, and by the said councils; nor shall it be allowed to make of the same in the court of Rome a renunciation *ad favorem*, or to obtain coadjutorial bulls with future succession under any pretext, upon pain of a due punishment to the transgressor, according to the quality of the persons and the transgression. You shall therefore farther make known this regulation to the ordinaries aforesaid, to the end that if any particular case deserves exception, it shall upon no account be made, till public permission is first obtained, so that it shall not be admitted without the due restrictions, the customary formalities having preceded, and the attestations of the respective ordinaries having been heard.

Finally you shall with care, diligence, and zeal, take out of the respective bishops courts, and courts of the abbeyes, or any other ecclesiastical court whatsoever sub-
ject

dinaria secolare, e Regolare soggetta alla vostra rappresentanza, note Giurate nelle quali si contenga il Catalogo di tutte le Bolle, Brevi, e Rescritti d' Indulgenze, Concessioni, Dispense, Privilegj, Rinunzie, Coadjutorie, Pensioni, che dalle predette, e loro Offiziali fossero per il corso di questò ultimo Decennio state eseguite, facendovi aggiungere la Tassa delle spese occorse, e solite pagarsi tanto nella Curia Romana, quanto nella propria di ciascun Ordinario, ed in quanto alle Pensioni, sarà della vostra attenzione il procurarvi la nota di tutti li Benefizj, che finora fossero stati soggetti a Pensione, e di quelli, che non fossero stati soggetti, con distinzione, spiegandosi la quantità e qualità della Pensione medesima, quali note dovrete indirizzare sollecitamente a questo Magistrato sopra Monasterj.

Sarà merito della prudenza vostra di contenervi nelle ordinatevi insinuazioni agli ordinarij prefati con i medesimi

jest to your jurisdiction, sworn memorials, containing catalogues of all the bulls, briefs, rescripts of indulgences, concessions, dispensations, privileges, renunciations, coadjutorial bulls, pensions, which were by the aforesaid ordinaries and their substitutes executed within the course of these last ten years, causing to be thereto adjoined an account of the expences which have occurred, and which were usually paid, as well in the court of Rome as in the the particular court of each ordinary. And with regard to the pensions, you shall take care to procure a memorandum of all the benefices, which have hitherto been liable to pay pensions, and of those which were never liable to pay them, setting forth in a distinct manner the quantity and quality of the pension itself, which memorandums you must carefully direct to the magistrate who superintends the religious houses.

It will, at the same time, suit your prudence to insert in your mandates, insinuations to the said ordinaries, with the same

desimi convenienti alla rispettiva qualità de' medesimi, facendoli singolarmente rilevare, che siccome questi provvedimenti tendono a mantenere nel suo decoro l'autorità, e diritti del loro grado; così confida il Senato, che dal zelo e pietà de' medesimi verranno secondate le di lui religiose intenzioni con tutta l'efficacia e fervore, che da loro meritamente s'attende.

same attention to, the respective qualities of each, observing to them in a particular manner, that as these provisions tend to maintain in its lustre the authority and rights of their dignity; so the senate is confident that their zeal and piety will second its religious intentions with all the efficacy and fervour which may be justly expected from them.

I N P R E G A D I.

Che per un Segretario di questo Consiglio sia mandato a leggere, e lasciato in Copia à M. Reverendis. Patriarca quanto segue.

1754. 7 Settembre.

MONSIGNORE Reverendis. Refisi oramai troppo osservabili gli abusi insensibilmente introdotti in molte parti del Dominio nostro per una irregolata libertà

At the P R E G A D I-H A L L.

Let the following be sent by the secretary of this council to be read, and a copy of it left with his grace the patriarch,

1754. 7 September.

THE abuses, my lord, being become notorious, which have been introduced in many parts of our dominions, through the licentiousness of subjects of every degree and condition,

libertà de' sudditi d'ogni grado, e condizione, da quali si impetrano Bolle, Brevi, Rescritti, ed altre Carte di fucri, e poscia senza che vengano assoggettate alla revisione, come prescrivono le pubbliche leggi, restano talvolta eseguite con delusione di così saggi provvedimenti tendenti a mantenere la buona Disciplina Ecclesiastica, le consuetudini ben' introdotte, e la tranquillità dello stato; si è trovato in necessità il Senato di rinnovare, e confermare tutte le antiche leggi nel proposito, e di prescriverne circolarmente l'inviolabile osservanza.

Sebbene il zelo, ed il filiale attaccamento, che è stato sempre a cuore de' Predecessori di V. S. Illma, e distintamente quella, che ella conserva verso le cose nostre, e per l'osservanza de' Statuti Canonici non abbino lasciato, che tanti disordini si avvanzino in questa sua Diocesi, non lascia però questo Consiglio, di renderle ciò noto, che si è trovato opportuno provvedere in questa materia,

condition, by whom are obtained bulls, briefs, rescripts, and other papers from abroad, and afterwards, without their being subjected to a revifal, as the public laws ordain; they are sometimes executed in violation of these wise provisions, which tend to maintain a good ecclesiastical discipline, the customs that have been wisely established, and the tranquillity of the state; the senate has found itself under a necessity to renew and confirm all the ancient laws made upon this account, and to enjoin the inviolable observation of them in all the countries round about.

Although the zeal and filial attachment which your grace's predecessors have always had at heart, and particularly that which you have for us and ours, and for the observance of ecclesiastical canons, hath not suffered so many disorders to gain ground in this your diocese, this council notwithstanding takes care to make known to you what measures it has found necessary to take upon this occasion, being certain that your grace with your usual piety and prudence will not fail

materia, ben certo, che ella colla pietà, e prudenza sua non lascerà di uniformarsi, e di ordinare dal canto suo a' proprj ministri la puntuale esecuzione.

Non dovrà pertanto esser' eseguita alcuna Bolla, Breve, Rescritto, Citazione, Monitorio, ò Carta generalmente di qualsivisia natura, che venga di fuori, se prima non sarà presentata in Collegio per esser riveduta, e licenziata, in pena di nullità dell' esecuzione, e di quel castigo, che meritasse la qualità dellà contrafazione, e di chi contrafacesse.

Volendosi poi mettere qualche conveniente confine all' abuso invalso d'impetrarsi scongiatamente Brevi d'Indulgenze, e di Privilegi d'Altari perpetui, o a tempo, senza che sia osservata la debita economia, e discrezione, onde succede, che per il mal' uso si diminuisca piuttosto, che si accresca la divozione, e la riverenza de' Fedeli verso queste pregievoli spirituali grazie, sarà della Pastoral cura di V. S. Reverendiss. di far sapere ai Pievani, ed altri Superiori delle Chiese,
che

fail to take proper measures on your side, and direct your officers to put them punctually in execution.

Therefore no bull, brief, rescript, citation, monitory, or paper of what nature soever, which comes from abroad, shall be executed till it is first presented before the college to be revised and licenced, upon pain of the execution's being null and void, and of that punishment which is incurred by the quality of the transgression and the transgressor.

It being therefore necessary to put some proper stop to the prevailing abuse of obtaining improperly briefs of indulgence, or privileges of the altar, either perpetual or for a time, without due economy and caution being observed; whence it comes to pass, that through this pernicious custom, devotion is rather diminished than increased, as likewise the reverence of the faithful for these valuable spiritual favours, it shall be the pastoral care of your grace to make

che non saranno quindi in poi licenziati simili Brevi, se non avrà preceduto alla impetrazione de' medesimi una legale attestazione della Patriarcal sua Cancelleria, che abbino questi a servire di edificazione, e profitto spirituale de' suoi Diocesani. Nel rilasciare le quali attestazioni, ben confida il Senato, che la di lei prudenza non sarà per renderli facile, ma ridurrà la cosa a termini di convenienza, i quali salvino i Religiosi oggetti, che si hanno in questa deliberazione.

*Per metter freno ancora alla licenziosità delle impetrazioni, che spesso da ogni qualità indifferentemente di Persone si fanno in Curia senza l'Economia prescritta dalle leggi della Chiesa, e per lo più sopra cause frivole, ed anche supposte senza necessità, ovvero utilità della Chiesa, onde derivano sovente gravissimi abusi in delusione delle prescrizioni Canoniche, ed in rilassazione dell' Ecclesiastica Disciplina, non sarà licenziato in avvenire alcun Breve, Rescritto, o altra Carta prov-
niente*

it known to the rectors and other parish priests, that henceforward no such briefs shall be licenced except the obtaining of the same be preceded by a legal attestation from the patriarch's office, that they are intended for the edification and spiritual advantage of his diocesans. In allowing which attestations, the senate has good hopes that your grace will not be too indulgent, but will put the affair upon such a footing as may secure the religious objects of this deliberation.

Farther to check this licentious obtaining of briefs, &c. which are often procured, at the court of Rome, by persons of all qualities and denominations without the œconomy prescribed by the laws of the church, and, generally speaking, for frivolous causes, and even such as are supposed without necessity or any advantage to the church, from whence there often spring grievous abuses, to the violation of the canonical prescriptions, and in relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline; for the future licence shall not be granted to
any

niente di fuori, che contenga dispensazioni, o concessioni di cose, le quali concedersi possano dalla di lei autorità a forza del Jus suo ordinario, della disposizione de Canon, o di Privilegj.

Saranno però esclusi dal licenziamento quei Brevi, che venissero impetrati per ordinazioni da farsi extra tempora, non osservati i debiti interstizi, e prima degli anni stabiliti agli ordinandi da sagri Canon, essendo presentemente pur troppo moltiplicate il numero de' Sacerdoti, senza che sene promuovano di età immatura, onde non mai edificazione, ma sovente succede scandalo a' Popoli.

Occorre ancora che le dispense Matrimoniali della volgare idiota gente singolarmente s'impetrano in Curia senza prima esaminarsi la legittimità de' motivi, e delle cause per le quali si possono ottenere, onde spesso volte dopo aver per ciò incontrati dispendj gravissimi al povero loro stato, trovano difficoltà nell' esecuzione commessa

any brief, rescript, or other paper which comes from abroad, containing dispensations or concessions of things which may be granted by your grace's authority in virtue of your ordinary jurisdiction, the disposition of the canons or of privileges.

Those briefs shall likewise be excluded from licence that are obtained for ordinations to be conferred *extra tempora*, without observing the due intervals, and before the years appointed by the sacred canons, the number of priests being already multiplied too far, without those of unripe years being promoted, whence, instead of edification, there often arises scandal to the people.

Add to this, that the marriage dispensations of the low vulgar are obtained of the court of Rome in an extraordinary manner, without any previous inquiry being made into the lawfulness of the motives, and of the causes for which they may be obtained; whence it often happens that after having upon this account been at an expence, and almost

messa agli Officiali delle Curie ordinarie, ed opposizioni insuperabili, perche non si verificano le cause esposte, con perdita luttuosa del denaro per ciò speso, e con necessità d'incontrare nuovi dispendj. Non sarà perciò licenziata alcuna di tali Matrimoniali Dispense, a cui, prima che venga impetrata, non sia preceduta una legale attestazione della di lei Curia d' essersi ben' esaminata, e verificate coi metodi, e riguardi soliti osservarsi ne' rispettivi casi al tempo dell' esecuzione le cause impellenti all' impetrazione; nel che pure resta eccitato il di lei zelo a far che in ciò da propri Ministri si presti opera fedele, per che in ciò non segua abuso contrario alla mente delle costituzioni della Chiesa, ed alle caritatevoli massime del Governo, o che possa riuscire in aggravio de' suoi Diocesani.

Essendo stato provveduto dalle leggi nostre che senza pubblica licenza niuno possa impetrar Brevi per commutazioni

insupportable to their poor and humble station, they meet with difficulties in the execution committed to the officers of the common courts, and insurmountable oppositions, as the causes laid before the courts are not proved, and they lose the money which they have spent upon that account, and are under a necessity of being at expences still more considerable. Therefore no such matrimonial dispensations shall be licenced which are not, before they are obtained, preceded by a legal attestation of the court, that the causes which occasioned them to be obtained, were before the time of the execution thoroughly examined and proved, with all the methods and precautions customary to be observed in the respective cases; and you are exhorted to shew your zeal in making your own substitutes exert themselves to the utmost, that in this there may follow no abuse contrary to the spirit of the ecclesiastical constitutions, and the benevolent maxims of government, or which may prove hurtful to your diocesans.

It being provided by our laws, that no body is to obtain
briefs

mutazioni delle ultime volontà, non sarà licenziata perciò alcuna Carta di fuori per riduzioni di Messe, che venisse impetrata senza questo essenziale requisito, e senza il previo ascolto degli Eredi di quelli, che avessero ordinata la celebrazione, ovvero di chi aver potesse in dette Disposizioni titolo, ovvero interesse.

E perchè è arrivato alla pubblica notizia che contro le chiare uniformi, e risolutissime disposizioni de' sagri Canon, e de' stessi provvedimenti pubblici la licenziosità de' sudditi continua con modi indiretti a procurarsi Bolle di rinunzie ad favorem, e Coadjutorie con futura successione ne' Benefizj loro tanto detestate da Padri della Chiesa, cose tutte, che tornano in diminuzione del diritto de' Collatori ordinarj, in notabilissimo detrimento de' sudditi, ed in danno dello Stato per li multiplici, e gravissimi dispendj col procurarsi simili convenzioni, e quelle dispense che dalle leggi salutari, e dalla spedizione delle Bolle vanno inseparabili ;
si

briefs for the commutation of testaments, therefore no foreign order for the reducing of the number of masses shall be licenced, which is obtained without the essential requisite, and without first obtaining the consent of the heirs who had directed them to be celebrated, or of whoever might be really interested in the said dispositions.

And because it is come to the public knowledge, that contrary to the clear, uniform, and fixed decisions of the sacred canons and public regulations, the licentiousness of subjects continues by indirect methods to procure bulls of renunciation *ad favorem*, and coadjutorial bulls, with future succession to their benefices, so much detested by the fathers of the church ; all which particulars prejudice the rights of the ordinary collators, greatly hurt the subject, and cause considerable loss to the state, through the many and grievous expences unavoidable in procuring such bargains, and those expences which are inseparable from salutary laws and the dispatching of bulls ; it is therefore ordained, that, for the

fi è pero stabilito, che in avvenire non sia lecito a qualsivisia Ecclesiastico del Dominio nostro di far' altre rinunzie de' proprj beneficj posti entro le publiche Dizioni che quelle permesse dai Canoni della Chiesa e dai Concilj predetti, e che non sia permesso di far de' medesimi nella Curia Romana rinunzia ad favorem, ovvero impetrar Bolle di coadjutorie, con futura successione sotto qualunque pretesto, in pena a chi trasgredisse di conveniente correzione secondo la qualità delle Persone, e della contrafazione.

E se qualche particolar caso meriterà eccezione, ciò non sarà altrimenti lecito di poter farsi, che prima si abbia ottenuta publica licenza di non esser concessa, se non che colle ristrettezze e formalità decretate, e previe le di lei attestazioni, e de' suoi successori.

Resta in fine eccitato il di lei zelo di ordinare a' Ministri della propria Concellaria una distinta, e giurata nota in cui restano epilogate in Catalogo tutte
le

future, it shall not be lawful for any ecclesiastic to make any other renunciations of their own benefices which belong to this state, except those that are permitted by the canons of the church, and by the councils aforesaid, and that it shall not be lawful to make of the same a renunciation *ad favorem* in the Roman court, or obtain coadjutorial bulls with a right to future succession upon any pretext whatever, upon pain of a punishment adequate to the crime and suited to the quality of the offender, being inflicted upon whoever transgresses.

And if any particular case should deserve to be excepted, this shall not be lawful, unless public licence is first obtained, shewing it has not been granted but with the restrictions and formalities customary upon such occasions, and with the previous attestations of your grace and your successors.

Finally your grace is requested to order the secretaries of your own office to draw up a particular and sworn memorandum, containing

le Bolle, Brevi, e Rescritti d'Indulgenze, Concessioni, Dispense, Privilegj, Rinunzie, e Coadjutorie, che dalla detta di lei Curia, ed Officiali per il Corso di questo ultimo Decennio fossero state eseguite, facendovi aggiungere a detta nota la distinta tassa delle spese per quelle occorse, e solite pagarsi tanto nella Romana Curia, quanto nella propria, ben' intendendosi con questo Magistrato ai sopra Monasterj, per farcela pervenire con sollecitudine.

Abbiamo di tutto questo voluto, che ella ne resti intesa per quella giusta confidenza, che hà il Senato, che vorrà congiungere l'opera della sua connaturale pietà, e prudenza alle religiose intenzioni del Governo, onde sempre più meritarsi la pubblica estimazione, e gradimento.

D E C R E T O

containing a compendious catalogue of all the bulls, briefs, and rescripts of indulgences, concessions, dispensations, privileges, renunciations, and coadjutorial bulls, that have been executed in your graces's said court, and by your officers, during the last ten years, causing to be subjoined to the said memorandum a distinct account of the expences occasioned by them, and which it was customary to pay, as well in the Roman court as your own, including also the monasteries, in order to have such memorandum speedily sent us.

We have thought proper to insinuate this to your grace, through the just confidence of the senate, that you will join the assistance of your innate piety and prudence to the religious intentions of the government, which will make you still more deserving of the public esteem and benevolence.

D E C R E E

D E C R E T O

Del Gran Consiglio di Venezia.

7 Sett. 1754.

“ DA questo dì in avvenire sia espressamente
 “ vietato a qualunque suddito di ricorrere a Roma per
 “ qualsivoglia sorta di dispense, che non si possano ot-
 “ tenere dall’ Ordinario, e che in ogni caso di dover
 “ ricorrere, si abbia da fare, ma per la via dell’ Or-
 “ dinario, senza spesa alcuna, intendendo il Principe
 “ Serenissimo, che ogni uno abbia a conformarsi al
 “ Concilio di Trento, alli Decreti, e Bolle Pontificie,
 “ senza esigere dispense dalle accettate Leggi, delle
 “ quali ogni Principe Cristiano è mantenitore.

P R I M A

D E C R E E

Of the great council of Venice.

7 September, 1759.

FROM this day forward every subject is expressly for-
 bidden to apply to Rome for any dispensation of any sort,
 which cannot be obtained from the ordinary; and in
 every case, in which application is to be made, it should be
 made by the ordinary, and without any sort of expence, it
 being the intention of his serene highness the doge, that all
 shall conform to the council of Trent, to the decrees and
 pontifical bulls, without exacting dispensations from the re-
 ceived laws of which every Christian prince is defender.

F I R S T

P R I M A L E T T E R A

Scritta dal Papa Clemente XIII. alla Repubblica.

A P P E N A inalzati dalla Provvidenza del Signore, senz' alcun merito, ed opera nostra, in tempi tanto miseri, e calamitosi al supremo Governo della Chiesa, rivolgiamo il pensiero, e lo sguardo verso Vostra Serenità, come degno, ed illustre Capo di una Repubblica, che abbiamo fin' ora, per il nostro nascimento, osservata per nostra diletteffima Madre, e che ameremo da qui innanzi per il grado in cui siamo costituiti, di Padre di tutti i fedeli, come nostra cariffima figlia, partecipandole con questa lettera, scritta di pugno, questo inaspettato nostro successo.

Siamo però ricolmi di una giusta fiducia, ch' essendo la medesima interessata a procurare, che il nostro Reggimento riesca a lei di gloria, e di utilità alla Chiesa, vorrà

F I R S T L E T T E R

Written by pope Clement XIII. to the republic.

SCARCE raised by divine providence, without any merit or efforts of our own, in times of such distress and calamity, to the supreme government of the church, we turn our thoughts and considerations to your serene highness, as the worthy and illustrious head of a republic, which we have hitherto, on account of our birth, respected as our beloved mother, and which we shall henceforward love, on account of the station in which we are placed, of father of all the faithful, as our dearest daughter, communicating to you with this letter written with our hand this our unexpected success.

We are therefore full of just confidence that the republic, being interested to render our government glorious to her, and advantageous to the church, will assist us with her powerful

vorrà assisterci colla efficacia delle sue orazioni, e colla Saviezza de' suoi Consigli, ed incominciare ancora a felicitarne, com' erasi già principiato con questa S. Sede, dandoci il tempo, ed i mezzi di potervi ulteriormente travagliare, com' erasi già incominciato dal vostro Predecessore; ne porgiamo, a questo fine, a Vostra Serenità le più fervorose preghiere, assicurandola, che, siccome ci sarebbe di un sommo contento, che la nostra amatissima Patria desse agli altri Principi Cattolici questo pio, e generoso esempio di filiale deferenza alle giuste istanze del Vicario di Cristo, così darebbe ancora a noi motivo di approfittarci, maggiormente della dignità Pontificia, per promuovere le sue convenienze, e per implorare in grado di sommo Sacerdote dal motor d'ogni bene, a Vostra Serenità, alla Repubblica, ed alli suoi Dominj ogn' incremento di gloria, e di felicità. Intanto non lasceremo di ringraziarla per la parte, che il Cardinale Delfino, per far cosa grata, come non dubitiamo a Vostra Serenità, ed alla Repubblica, ha preso

powerful prayers, and with the wisdom of her councils, and begin to make us happy, as she has already begun with this Holy See, giving us the time and means to labour farther for this purpose, as our predecessor had opened the way; we for this end prefer to your serene highness our most fervent prayers, assuring you that as it would be the highest satisfaction to us, that our beloved country should give other catholic princes this pious and generous example of filial deference to the just solicitations of the vicar of Christ, so it would furnish us with a motive to avail ourselves the more of our pontifical dignity, in order to promote the interests of the republic, and to implore, in quality of chief pontiff, that the giver of all good would bestow upon your serene highness, upon the republic, and upon its territories, all sorts of glory and felicity. At the same time, we return thanks to your serene highness for the part which cardinal Delfino, in compliance, as we take it for granted, to your serene highness and

preso insieme coll' Ambasciatore per la nostra Esaltazione, e per ultimo le diamo coll' intimo del nostro cuore l' Appostolica Benedizione.

and to the republic, has taken, in conjunction with the ambassador, to promote our exaltation; and finally we heartily give your serene highness our apostolical benediction.

V E N E Z I A.

5 Agosto 1758.

IL Papa nella prima Lettera quà scritta non ha oltrepassato i termini d'un ordinario, e più tosto diminuito complimento. Ha poi sconfinato nell' entrare in materia pur troppo molesta, ma con un' accorta connessione: cio che hà fatto con espressioni, che non ammettono interpretazioni, e che escludono, e bandiscono ogni lusinga.

Fu appresa la cosa comunemente così, come dovevasi, e fu seriamente trattata nel ceto più rispettabile. Se il sentimento de' più saggi prevaleva, il colpo era bellissimo, e cotesta Corte restava sorpresa, e legata da
una

V E N I C E.

August 5, 1758.

THE pope in the first of these letters has not passed the bounds of an ordinary and moderate compliment. He has afterwards passed the due bounds, in entering upon a perplexing subject but with an ingenious connexion: this he has done with expressions which do not admit of interpretation, and which exclude and banish all flattery.

The thing was generally understood as it should be, and was treated seriously in the most respectful assembly of the state. If the opinion of the wisest prevailed, the stroke would have been a glorious one, and that court remained surprized and convicted

una volontaria condonazione per cui sarebbesi sepolta ogni contesa, e schivata la odiosa interposizione delle corti estere. Ma poiche nelle adunanze, ove si delibera con pluralità di suffragj, le palle si contano, e non si pesano; perciò i Giovani oppositori la vinsero colla proposta della sospensione di quattro mesi.

Oggi si rinnova lo squittinio, che sarà lunghissimo, e se tale sarà, non si conchiuderà nulla: qui non vi sono menti ne coscienze; ma nel corpo Civile, niente-meno che nel naturale, per sane che siano le parti nobili, la contaminazione può nascere dalle parti men nobili. Perciò quanto a me nulla affatto spero di buono: tanto più che nelle contese di due Dominj cont termini, trà quali la rivalità universale è innata, e perpetua, vi veggo aggiunte nella presente provvidenza le gare paesane, che sono più pericolose dell' esterne.

Una Casa nuova, stimata per la incomparabile sua probità, invidiata egualmente per le sterminate sue ricchezze,

convicted by a voluntary pardon, whereby every contest would have been buried, and the odious interposition of foreign courts would have been avoided. But as in assemblies, where deliberations are determined by a plurality of votes, the balloting bulls are reckoned and not weighed, the young men who opposed the wisest opinion, prevailed by proposing a suspension of four months.

To day the scrutiny is renewed, which will be very long, and if it should prove so, nothing will be concluded: here are neither minds nor consciences; but in the body politic, just as in the natural, however sound the noble parts may be, contagion may spread from the less noble. Therefore I, for my share, hope for no good: and the more, as, in the contests of two neighbouring regions, between which there is an innate, general and lasting rivalry, I see joined in the present dispute the quarrels of fellow citizens, which are more dangerous than foreign broils.

A new family, esteemed on account of its extraordinary probity,

ricchezze, portata repentinamente al Soglio, in tante teste pienissime di pregiudizj, oltre ogni credere hà eccitato rancore, anzi che nò. Il commune acclama, i giusti e i saggi godono, e tripudiano; il mal fermento vorrebbe contaminare la Massa.

Fà stordire, Signor mio caro, aver veduta questa Casa in men di cinque anni comprare un Palazzo imperfetto sì, ma di bellissima Architettura, nel posto più nobile, e più delizioso del Canal grande, e compirlo colla stessa simetria; di poi fare un Matrimonio colla gran Casa Savorniano e spendere assai più di cento mila Ducati: appresso fare le feste della esaltazione del Papa: immediatamente quelle di Procuratore di S. Marco; poco dopo il funeral della Madre; questo prossimo Ottobre l'entrata di Procuratore, e trà poco, come si spera, quella del Figliuolo Cardinale, non sola senza battere alla porta di alcuno, né senza levar il danaro che ha nei pubblici depositi in copia sorprendente,

probity, equally envied for its immense wealth, raised all on a sudden to the throne, has in so many minds filled with prejudices raised much rancour. The vulgar shout, the good and wise rejoice and dance; the bad leaven would infect the whole mass.

It astonishes me, my dear sir, to have seen this family, in less than five years, buy a palace, which indeed was not compleatly finished, but the architecture of which was admirable, in the most noble and delicious situation, and finish it with the utmost symetry, afterwards marry into the great Savonian family, and spend above a hundred thousand ducats: next celebrate the festival of the pope's exaltation: immediately afterwards that of procurator of St. Mark; soon after the mother's funeral: the last October, the entry of the procurator, and in a short time, it is to be hoped, that of the cardinal: not only without applying to any body for assistance, or without breaking in upon the sums deposited in the public funds in great abundance, but even without stepping

dente, ma senza uscir di Casa. Un dispendio di questa sorte fatto con tanta magnificenza, e con tanta indifferenza, e con tanta pacatezza, ha meritato lo stordimento di tutti, e con esso la invidia di molti: cose tutte repugnanti a quella Equanimità, che vorrebbe in tutti per appianare ogni scabrosità.

Ma ciò che mi crucia è il rammentarmi di quel che in altro tempo narrommi il Serenissimo Grimani, il quale essendo Ambasciatore in Inghilterra, ebbe un giorno il coraggio d'interpellare uno de' principali di quel Ministero cosa mai avesse fatto di male il vivente Rè Jacopo? a cui fu risposto. Il suo male stà, che egli nulla di male ha fatto a noi, ma noi ne abbiamo fatto troppo a lui.

Chi siede ora le sa tutte, né hà dissimulato punto col silenzio. La Casa qui non possiede che un Palazzo ed una Villa. Jeri però avendo discorso col Procuratore Emo, mi assicurò di sapere che il fratello del Papa abbia sottoscritto un trattato di Compra di una tenuta del

stepping out of its own peculiar sphere. An expence of this sort, made with such munificence, with such indifference and ease, has justly astonished all, and excited the envy of many; such circumstances being repugnant to that equanimity required in all to remove every difficulty.

But what gives me pain is to recollect what, was once told me by the most serene Grimani, who, being ambassador in England, had one day the courage to ask one of the chief persons in the ministry of that kingdom, what wrong their present king James had ever done? who received this answer: His misfortune is that he never did us any wrong, but we have done him too much.

He that sits at present upon the papal throne knows all this, and has concealed nothing of it by silence. The family is here possessed only of a palace and a house. But happening yesterday to have some conversation with the agent Emo, he assured me he was well informed that
the

del valore di 200 e più mila Ducati prima di partire per la Villa nel Giugno passato. Non sò decidere se l'avesse fatta dopo il faustifissimo Giorno del 6. di Luglio. Vi dico ora alle curte che qui nulla affatto si opera di buono da cotesta banda, riputandosi il Papa non pure per disappassionato, ma positivamente per avverso, e disgustato, e con' essi dicono ad alta voce : Romano, Romano, Romano.

the pope's brother had signed a treaty of purchase, of a farm worth above two hundred thousand ducats, before he set out for the city in last June. I cannot be positive whether he did it after the glorious 6th of July. Here I must tell you, under hand, that nothing good is done upon that quarter, the pope being considered not as a dispassionate man, but as absolutely averse and disgusted, and as it is loudly proclaimed, a Roman, a Roman, a Roman.

C O P I A

Della Ducale venuta da Venezia a N. S. Clemente XIII.

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri, & D. Clementi XIII.
dignè, Dei Providentia Sacrosanctæ Romanæ,
& universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, Francis
Lauredanus Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum.

MENTRE con molta riflessione da noi versavasi sopra l'espressioni, che nell'anzi passata settimana l'ambas-

C O P Y

Of the doge's letter which was sent from Venice to pope Clement XIII.

To the most holy father in Christ and God, Clement XIII. deservedly raised by divine providence to be chief pontif of the holy Roman catholic church, Francis Lauredano, by the grace of God doge of Venice, sends health.

WHILST we profoundly reflected upon the representations made to us last week, by our ambassador cavalier

l'ambasciator nostro Cavaliere Correr ci rappresentò uscite dalla Santità Vostra, le quali mostravano l'efficace suo desiderio, che si ponesse fine alle insorte differenze col ritiro del decreto del 7 Sett. 1754, giunse il pregiatissimo foglio di Vostra Santità. Vi abbiamo lucidamente riconosciuto il Carattere retto, ed ingenuo della Santità Vostra, la quale, come Capo della Chiesa riconosce la facoltà Legislativa nata colla Repubblica, sempre da essa esercitata, spiegandosi Vostra Beatitudine istessa, che qualora succedesse per libera autorità del Senato il ritiro del decreto 7 Sett. 1754. ciò non può, ne potrà mai recare veruna lesione alla Potestà nostra Legislativa. Ciò premesso Vostra Santità ci richiede con sensi teneri, ed affettuosi, come una grazia da suoi attaccatissimi figli, il ritiro del suddetto decreto: Perciò essendo noi assicurati in punto così essenziale, attinente alle Leggi, e alle consuetudini nostre, ci troviamo in grado di dirle, di avere in quest'oggi ritirato
il

Correr, from your holiness, setting forth your earnest desire that an end should be put to the differences by repealing the decree of Sep. 7, 1754, your holiness's much esteemed letter arrived.

In it we have plainly discovered the upright and ingenuous character of your holiness, who as head of the church, must acknowledge the legislative power coeval with the republick, which was always exercised by her; your holiness explaining yourself, that whenever the decree of September 7, 1754, should be repealed by the senate's authority, this neither can nor ever will in any manner impair or injure our legislative power. This being premised, your holiness requests us in the most tender and affecting manner, as a favour and instance of duty in your most devoted sons, to repeal the said decree: therefore having received security with regard to a point so essential, relative to our laws and customs, we at present have it in our power to inform you that we have to day repealed that decree of the 7th of September,

il Decreto 7 Sett. 1754 colle carte, ch' ebbero a questo relazione. Benignissimo Padre, sia questo un indubitato Contrassegno della continuazione del nostro sommo giubbilo per vedere la Santità Vostra nostro Concittadino per i segnalati meriti suoi, ed egregie virtù esaltato al supremo Governo della Chiesa: per quello poi sia alle di lei espressioni tanto generose, e cordiali verso la Patria sua, non abbiamo che a dichiararle il nostro pienissimo riconoscimento, sicuri ch'ella ci riguarderà sempre nel suo insigne Pontificato, come prediletti suoi figli; e mentre che imploriamo dalla Beatitudine vostra l'appostolica Benedizione, con filiale ossequioso rispetto ci umiliamo al bacio del suo Santissimo Piede.

*Datum in nostro Ducali Palatio die 12 Augusti
indictione 6. 1758.*

N. N. Segretario.

tember, 1754, with the papers relative thereto. Most benevolent father, let this be an unquestionable proof of our joy, at seeing your holiness, our countryman, raised by your signal merit and uncommon virtues to the highest place in the church; then with regard to what relates to your holiness's generous and cordial expressions concerning your native country, we can only express to you our warm sense of gratitude, being certain that your holiness will always consider us in your illustrious pontificate as your beloved sons; and whilst we implore your holiness's apostolical benediction, we with profound and filial respect bend to kiss your holiness' foot.

Given at our ducal palace on the 12th of August, indiction 6, 1758.

N. N. Secretary.

I N P R E G A D I.

“ Ai Rettori Principali della Terra ferma, Capi
 “ di Provincia, ed alli Provifori Generali di
 “ Mare, e di Dalmazia, e Albania, ed al Po-
 “ deftà, e Capitano di Capo d'Istria.

12 *Agosto* 1758.

*CON le Ducali 15 Luglio decorfo notificammo avere il Senato per atto suo spontaneo prorogata la fofpenfione del Decreto 7 Sett. 1754, e ciò per manifef-
 tare l'efultanza nofta per l'efaltazione al fommo Go-
 verno della Chiefa di un noftro Concittadino; avendoci
 perciò la Beatitudine fua palesati gli efficaciffimi def-
 derj, perche il decreto ifteffo per spontanea nofta au-
 torità foffe ritirato; vi concorse anche in quefto giorno
 il Senato, defideroso di dar fempre continuata testimo-
 nianza della propria venerazione verfo la di lui Sagra
 Persona.*

At the P R E G A D I H A L L.

To the chief governors of the continent, the heads of provinces and the general purveyors for the sea, Dalmatia, and Albania, and to the Podesta and captain of the Cape of Istria.

August 12, 1758.

BY our ducal letters of the 15th of July last, we intimated that the senate had by its spontaneous act prorogued the suspension of the decree of the of September 1754, and this to shew our joy at the exhaltation of one of our countrymen to the highest dignity in the church; his holiness having discovered to us a strong desire that the decree itself should be repealed by our spontaneous authority; the senate concurred, with the supreme pontif, being desirous of giving a constant testimony of their high veneration for his sacred person.

We

Persona. Vi commettiamo perciò di render nota questa nostra deliberazione a cotesta Curia Vescovile, ed alle Comunità Religiose alla vostra rappresentanza soggette, rispedendosi le ducali alle medesime scritte, e di unirvi gli ordini circolari, che saranno stati rilasciati. Avrete poi ad invigilare, e renderne parimente avvertita la Curia e Comunità suddetta, acciò ogn'uno abbia con esattezza ad attenersi alla esecuzione delle Leggi nostre precedenti al Decreto 7 Sett. 1754.

We therefore recommend it to you to make this resolution of ours known to that ecclesiastical court, and to the religious communities subject to your jurisdiction, dispatching likewise the ducal letters written to the same, and joining to them the circular orders which happen to be left behind. You must then watch attentively and apprise both the court and community aforesaid, that all may with exactness attend to the execution of our laws previous to the decree of December 7, 1754.

S E C O N D A L E T T E R A

Di Clemente XIII. alla Repubblica di Venezia.

Q U A L E, e quanta sia stata la nostra Consolazione, allorché dal Cavaliere Pietro Correr, Ambasciatore, ci fu recato l'aggradevole riscontro della prontezza, colla quale il Senato è concorso ad incontrare le nostre

S E C O N D L E T T E R

Of Clement XIII. to the repulic of Venice.

HOW great our satisfaction was when we received from the cavalier Petter Correr, your ambassador, the acceptable information of the readiness with which the senate concurred in giving us satisfaction, and seconding the urgent

nostre soddisfazioni, e a secondare le istanze, che gli avevamo fatte di ritirare prontamente il Decreto del 7 Sett. 1754. come abbiamo riconosciuto, e dalla Lettera di Vostra Serenità, ch'egli ci ha consegnata, e dagli ordini relativi, testo spediti ai Pubblici rappresentanti; ci conviene di confessare non aver noi maniera di ben spiegarlo, onde voi diletteffimi figli, concepire ne possiate adeguatamente la nostra esultanza. Vi diremo essere stati noi sorpresi da una tenerezza sì grande, che non abbiamo potuto trattenerla tutta in noi stessi, senza darla a conoscere colle lagrime, che abbiamo creduto ben tributare al compimento glorioso di un affare, che non poteva non essere di somma nostra premura. Dopo di aver pertanto umiliate a Dio Signore, che col divino suo lume ha resi facili, e pronti i vostri Cuori alle circostanze ed alle rimonstranze del suo Vicario in Terra, vostro Concittadino, le più divote grazie, non dobbiamo lasciare di contestarvi la nostra più sincera riconoscenza per l'illustre

request we made then to repeal quickly the decree of the 7th of September 1754, as we have discovered both by the letter which your serene highness has sent us, and the orders relative to it immediately dispatched to the public magistrates; we must acknowledge that it is not in our power to express ourselves upon the occasion in such a manner, that you our beloved sons may be able to form an adequate conception of our joy. We must tell you then, that our feelings were so affecting, that we could hardly contain ourselves, but were compelled to witness them by our tears, which we thought ourselves in duty bound to pay upon the glorious consummation of an affair which gave us the highest concern. Therefore after having returned thanks to the Almighty, that by his divine light has rendered your hearts prone to comply with the circumstances and remonstrances of his viceroy upon earth, your countryman, we must not neglect to intimate to you our sincere acknowledgment for the

lustre testimonio, per il cospicuo esempio, che dato avete al Mondo tutto Cattolico, dell'ossequio, che professate alla Santa Sede, che tramandato in voi dai Vostri Maggiori, refissi cotanto benemeriti per memorandi egregi fatti, vive tuttavia, e viverà sempre negli animi vostri; e di quel particolare attaccamento, ch'essendo il Carattere specioso, con cui l'inclita vostra Repubblica riguarda i suoi figli, l'avete ora sì manifestamente dato a conoscere verso di noi, vostro figlio insieme, e vostro Padre. Che se a tali riflessi tanto è stato il vostro gradimento, non sarà punto inferiore la nostra riconoscenza, e nostro sarà il pensiero di darvene convincenti riprove, e quelle appunto, che da noi, come da grato Cittadino potete sperare a gloria, ed utilità della comune diletta Patria. Tale si è la nostra disposizione, e tali in progresso saranno gli effetti: In pegno di che alla Serenità vostra, e ai nostri diletteffimi figli, e Concittadini coi più teneri sensi di paterno amore diamo l'Appostolica Benedizione.

the illustrious testimony, for the shining example which you have given the whole catholic world of the obedience which you profess to the Holy See, transmitted to you by your ancestors, who signalized themselves to such a degree, by great and illustrious deeds, the memory of which lives and shall live in your minds; and of that particular attachment which your illustrious republick is accustomed to shew to its sons, and which you have, in so conspicuous a manner shewed us at once your son and your father. If you are pleased with these considerations, our gratitude shall not be inferior, and it shall be our care to give you convincing proofs of it, and such proofs as you may expect from us as a grateful countryman, which may turn to the glory and utility of our beloved country. Such is our disposition, and such in time shall prove the effects of it: in token of which we give your serene highness, and our beloved sons and countrymen our apostolical benediction, with the most tender sense of paternal affection.

End of the papers relative to the article of Venice.

А. И. Г. Т. Р. С. О.

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P A N E G I R I C O
S A C R O

DEL SERAPHICO PADRE
S A N F R A N C E S C O,

Per recitarsi nel giorno festivo de' suoi natalitii,
nel cospicuo convento

DELLE ILLUSTRISIME SIGNORE MADRI

DI SAN LORENZO

Di Venetia:

Dal Reverendissimo Padre

FRANCESCO DA S. AUGUSTINO MACEDO,

De' Minori Osservanti,

Lettor giubilato del suo ordine, Publico di Padova, e Cittadino di Venetia.

T H E

S A C R E D P A N E G - I R I C

OF THE SERAPHIC FATHER

S A I N T F R A N C I S,

spoken upon the anniversary of his birth-day, in
the renowned Convent

OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS NUNS

OF S A I N T L A W R E N C E
OF V E N I C E:

By the most reverend Father

FRANCESCO DA S. AUGUSTINO MACEDO,

One of the Minor Observants,

Jubilee Reader to his own Order, Public Reader of Padua,
and Citizen of Venice.

A R G O M E N T O,

Lo specchio vicendevole (cioè paragone) trà
S. Lorenzo, e S. Francesco.

Dedicato all' illustriff. Signora

ELENA LUCRETIA

CORNARA PISCOPIA,

Minerva Veneta, e miracolo litterario de' tempi nostri.

PATAVII,

Typis & Impensis JACOBI DE CADORINIS,

MDC LXXV.

Superiorum Permissu.

A R G U M E N T,

The comparative glass, or parallel between St.
Lawrence and St. Francis.

Dedicated to the renowned Lady

HELENA LUCRETIA

CORNARA PISCOPIA,

The Venetian Minerva, and literary miracle of our age.

PADUA,

Printed for JAMES DE CODORINIS.

MDCLXXV.

Superiorum Permissu.

E P I S T O L A

D E D I C A T O R I A

ILLUSTRISSIMA SIGNORA,

Signora, e padrona Colendiss.

H A V E N D O io per gran fortuna ritrovata questa perla peregrina in Conchiglia Italiana, non potevo dedicarla che a V. S. Illustriss. Aurora genitrice di simili perle pretiose d'ingegno, e dottrina: Ella deve riceverla non frà lagrime benche celesti, ma con risi piacevoli di godimento, e gradimento; già che conosce la valuta di questa sorte di gioie, essendo vivo tesauo di tante pretiose quante iddio ne ha depositate nell' anima di V. S. Illustrissima. So ben io la stima vicendeuole frà tutti due: l'autore

D E D I C A T I O N.

Most respectable lady and patroness,

H A V I N G by great good fortune found this foreign pearl in an Italian shell, I could think of nobody to dedicate it to but your ladyship, the prolific Aurora of such pearls of genius and learning: you should receive it not with tears though celestial, but with smiles of satisfaction and pleasure; as you know the value of jewels of this nature, being a living treasure of so many precious gems, which the almighty hath deposited in your generous soul. I am well acquainted with the reciprocal esteem, that subsists between both, the author who adores your ladyship's unparallel'd virtues,

tore ch'adora l'impareggiabili di lei virtù, & ella che ammira l'incomparabili dell' autore, ad ambidue stimo fare servizio. Comandi V. S. Illustrissima all'autore vada continuando questo studio, accioche arricchisca i Pergami Venetiani, e non dubiti, che sarà servita, essendo egli prontissimo ad obbedire alli cenni, non che comandi di V. S. Illustrissima. Finisco con un profondissimo inchino professandomi

Di V. S. Illustrissima,

Deottiff. & obligatiff. servitore,

Giacomo Cadorino.

Padova li 29 Settembre 1675.

virtues, and you who admire the extraordinary qualities of the author; I think I do a service to both. Let your ladyship command the author to continue to pursue this study in order to enrich the Venetian pulpit, and do not doubt but your orders will be complied with, he being most ready to obey the nod, much more the commands of your ladyship. I conclude with my most profound respects, professing myself,

Your ladyship's,

most devoted and oblig'd Servant,

James Codorino.

Padua, Sept. 29, 1675.

P A N E G I R I C O
S A C R O D I S A N
F R A N C E S C O.

*Tollite Jugum meum super vos : Jugum enim meum
suave est, & onus meum leve.*

Matth. ix.

QUELLA già chiamata croce si chiama al presente giogo, con la differenza del *suam*, e del *meum*; croce sua, e giogo mio. Tutto è misterioso: quando è croce, è nostra, *suam*; quando è giogo, è di Cristo, *meum*. Da noi portata è croce aspra, e pesante; da Christo imposta è giogo soave, e leggiero. La croce è propria d'un solo, tollat: Il giogo commune a dui: Tollite: quindi è che la croce è peso greve, il giogo è lieve

Sacred panegiric of St. Francis.

Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light.
Matt. xi. 29, 30.

WHAT was formerly call'd the cross, is at present call'd the yoke, with the difference of *suam* and *meum*; his cross and my yoke. The whole is mysterious: when it is a cross, it is ours, *suam*; when it is a yoke, it is Christ's, *meum*. carried by us it is a rough and heavy cross; impos'd by Christ, it is an easy and light-yoke. The cross belongs to one alone, tollat, let him take it up: the yoke is common to two, tollite, take it up: hence it is that the cross is a heavy burden, but the yoke is light and of little weight on account
of

lieve e senza peso, in virtù del compagno, che giova a portare il giogo. Mi congratulo con Francesco della felicità presente. Hoggi in San Lorenzo cambia la sua croce in giogo, ritrovando compagno in Lorenzo. Concorre con Francesco al giogo, in virtù del vangelo d'ambidui. L'Evangelio di Lorenzo è del grano del formento, frutto, ed effetto del giogo: Nisi granum frumenti. L'Evangelio di Francesco è della croce congiunta col medesimo pane: Mittamus lignum in panem ejus. Essendo il Sacramento del pane Eucharistico, effetto e figura del legno della croce. Onde nasce l'argomento del mio sermone, cioè la compagnia, e similitudine di tutti dui Lorenzo, e Francesco; l'uno, e l'altro martire di Cristo. Lorenzo per fuoco corporeale, Francesco per incendio mentale: Per Incendium mentis dice san Bonaventura. M'ingegnerò dunque di dar à vedere che sono pari nelle virtù, simili nel martirio, uguali nelle proprietà, verificandosi in loro la sentenza di Cristo: Tollite Jugum meum super vos,

of the companion who assists in bearing the yoke. I rejoice with Francis, upon his present happiness; this very day, being the festival of St. Lawrence, he changes his cross into a yoke, finding company in St. Lawrence. He comes with Francis to the yoke, in virtue of the gospel of both. The gospel of St. Lawrence relates to the grain of corn, the fruit and effect of the yoke: *nisi granum frumenti*. The gospel of Francis consists of the cross join'd with the bread itself: *mittamus lignum in panem ejus*. The sacrament of the bread of the Eucharist, being an effect and type of the wood of the cross. Hence arises the argument of my sermon, which turns upon the company and similitude of the two saints, Lawrence and Francis; both of whom were martyrs to Christ. Lawrence by corporeal fire, Francis by mental: *per incendium mentis* says St. Bonaventure. I shall therefore endeavour to make it appear that they are equal in virtue, that they resemble in their martyrdom, that they are equal in their qualities, and that in them

vos, a pró di questo illustre convento delle monache di san Lorenzo, e di san Francesco assieme; assicurandosi che non perderà punto nella combinatione Lorenzo; perchè essendo Francesco un'altro Cristo, ne risulterà delli trè una nova Trinità in terra, Cristo, Lorenzo, e Francesco. Il fuoco è pronto per far l'unione nella fornace della carità: applichiamo l'ingegno, & il discorso, e voi Signori ascoltanti, la Benevolenza; vederete una bella metamorfosi, cioè transformatione di Francesco in Lorenzo col mio favellare senza favoleggiare; e son da capo.

Fu Lorenzo levita per ministero, Minister Christi & levita: Francesco per mistero: levita, lievissimo, senza gravità terrena, come gli altri figli degli uomini. Filii hominum usquequò gravi corde: niente ebbe
di

is verified the order of Christ: *Tollite jugum meum super vos*, to the emolument of the illustrious convent of the nuns of St. Lawrence, and of St. Francis; being very certain that Lawrence will loose nothing in the comparison; because Francis being another Christ, there will result from the three a new trinity upon earth, consisting of Christ, Lawrence, and Francis. The fire is ready to produce union in the furnace of charity: let us exert our genius and our eloquence; and you my illustrious hearers attend with benevolence; you will see a fine metamorphosis, that is a transformation of Francis into Lawrence, from my discourse, which shall be intirely free from any mixture of fables; so I shall immediately enter upon my subject.

Lawrence was by his ministry, *minister Christi & levita*: Francis was so in a mysterious manner: * levity itself, even exceeding light, without any mixture of terrestrial gravity, like the rest of the sons of men. *Filii hominum usquequoque gravi corde*: he had nothing in him terrestrial, but all things celestial,

* The original contains a pun, which cannot well be rendered in English, the word *levita* signifying a levite, and *levità* with an accent upon the last implying levity, lightness.

di terreno, tutto di celeste, figlio del Padre del Cielo, rinonciando il padre carnale con tutto il valsente terreno al principio di sua conversione, dicendo *Pater meus qui es in Coelis*. Mentre Lorenzo era levita, Francesco diventò levità, leggierissimo, levissimo, senza nulla, ridotto al niente, *ad nihilum redactus sum*; *æstimabat se nihil ex humilitate*, disse *Lyra*, & *nescivi*. Restò senza scienza, senza conoscenza di se medesimo, perciocché era niente, & il niente non è oggetto di scienza. Del verbo divino si dice appresso Giovanni Evangelista, *sine ipso factum est nihil*, má di Francesco, *ex ipso factum est nihil*. Per virtù del Verbo il nulla diventò tutto; per Francesco, il tutto diventò nulla. Lorenzo era levita, levita *Laurentius*. Cristo era la Vita, *Ego sum Vita*. Francesco è levità, senza materia, senza peso, nulla, e niente, *ad nihilum redactus sum*: Francesco è una cosa astratta d'ogni materia, senza possessione, senza porto, senza suporto:

tial, being son to the heavenly father, and renouncing his carnal parent, with all his earthly property at the beginning of his conversion, whilst he repeated the Lord's prayer, *Pater meus qui es in Cælis*. Whilst Lawrence was a levite, Francis became levity, most light, without any incumbrance, reduc'd to nothing, *ad nihilum redactus sum*; *æstimabat se nihil ex humilitate*, says *Lyra*, & *nescivi*. He remain'd without science, without knowledge of himself, because he was nothing, and nothing is not an object of science. It is said of the divine Word, in St. John the Evangelist, *sine ipso factum est nihil*, but of Francis it is said, *ex ipso factum est nihil*. By virtue of the word nothing became every thing; by Francis every thing became nothing. Lawrence was a levite, *levita Laurentius*. Christ was the life, *ego sum vita*. Francis is levity without matter, without weight, absolute, downright nothing, *ad nihilum redactus sum*: Francis is something abstracted from all matter, without possession, without port, and without support: & *non est substantia, non est facultas*, read the

suporto: & non est substantia, non est facultas, legge l'Ebreo; non ha sostanza, non ha facoltà, non ha proprietà, divenne nulla, senza avere realtà, né essere terreno, sì in particolare, come in commune, è una cosa astratta di tutto il terreno. Altri sono poveri, ma in concreto con qualche bene terreno: Sono virtuosi, ma Francesco è la virtù; e tanto povero, che si chiama la povertà in astratto. Nella sua vita si narra che fu salutato dal Cielo con queste parole Ecco la povertà, non il povero; ma povertà in astratto, perchè Francesco non era lieve, era la medesima levità; anzi il medesimo niente: ad nihilum redactus sum. Volete la prova? Sentite il Psalmo, Nihil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus suis. Questo nihil, questo niente si ritrova nelle mani de' Ricchi, all'ora che fanno limosine a i poveri: Nihil invenerunt. Perde la proprietà dove si trova questo niente; Francesco mantenendosi lui, e li suoi poveri dalle mani de' Ricchi, che li sostentano con limosine;

the Hebrews; he has no substance, he has no faculties, no property, becomes nothing, loses all reality, ceases to be terrestrial as well in the general as particular, and is something totally abstracted from whatever is of a terrestrial nature. Others are poor but with the possession of some earthly blessing: others are virtuous, but Francis is virtue itself; and so great is his poverty that he is call'd poverty in the abstract. We are told in his life, that he was saluted from Heaven with the following words, "Behold poverty," not the poor man, but poverty in the abstract, because Francis was not light but levity itself; or rather nothing itself: *ad nihilum redactus sum*. Do you require a proof of this? hear the Psalmist, *nihil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus suis*. This *nihil*, this nothing is found in the hands of the rich, when they give charity to the poor: *nihil invenerunt*. He loses property, where this nothing is found; Francis supporting himself and his poor followers by the hands of the rich, who

mosine; volete sapere chi è Francesco? Consultate l'altrui mani, di cui limosine vive, perché in se, né da se vivere non può, non ha niente del suo, sine proprio: Hà il tutto d'altrui mani, nihil invenerunt in manibus: è nulla, è niente, non ha proprio sine proprio: è un niente in se, che si ritrova nelle altrui mani; favorisce il pensiero la versione greca del Psalmo leggendo così nihil divitiarum. Niente di ricchezze; quale era Francesco tanto povero che diventò nihil divitiarum, niente de' beni, niente di facoltà terrena. Ma perché il niente di Francesco non si ritrova trà i poveri, se non tra i ricchi, nihil in viris divitiarum? E forse interessato? Cerca i ricchi, rifiuta i poveri? Nò, Signori, è lontanissimo dall'interesse Francesco. Come dunque si trova frà i ricchi, non frà i poveri! Perché essendo egli povero, e i suoi frati poveri, non può ritrovarsi nei poveri, perché si ritrovarebbe fra i proprii,

support them by their alms. Are you desirous of knowing who Francis is? Consult the hands of those by whose charity he lives, because he can neither live in himself nor by himself, and has nothing of his own, *sine proprio*: he receives every thing from the hands of others, *nihil invenerunt in manibus*: he is nothing, a non ens, he has no property, *sine proprio*: he is a nothing in himself, which is found in the hands of others. The Greek version of the psalm favours the thought if we read *nihil divitiarum*. No riches; no riches; such was Francis, so poor, that he became *nihil divitiarum*, possess'd of no goods, of no terrestrial property. But how comes it that the nothing of Francis is not to be found amongst the poor, but amongst the rich, *nihil in viris divitiarum*? Is he a self-interested man? Does he seek the rich, does he shun the poor? No, gentlemen, Francis is far from self-interest. Why then is he found amongst the rich and not amongst the poor? Because being himself poor and his bretheren poor, he cannot be found amongst the poor, for he then would be found amongst his own,

proprii, e non havendo egli proprio per istituto, verrebbe à peccare contro il suo Istituto, ritrovando il proprio ne i poveri. Venne dunque à ritrovarsi frà i ricchi, che non sono proprii, ma alieni di Francesco. Tanto fugge la proprietà. Perfettissimo è l'istituto, e l'habito di Francesco, professando il niente. Christo nel suo habito si ritrovò uomo: *Habitu inventus est homo*; ma Faancesco nel suo habito, si ritrovò niente: *habitu inventus est nihil*.

Mà se Francesco è niente, come dice *Deus meus*, & omnia: dio mio & ogni cosa? Dunque Francesco hà seco Dio & ogni cosa. Due volte replica ogni cosa. Perche essendo Dio il tutto, aggiunge omnia? Bastava dire, Dio mio, e tralasciare l'omnia: Nò Signori; penetrate il mistero: concorre Dio, e Francesco ad essere il tutto: iddio creando il tutto da niente, e Francesco

own, and having no peculiar property, being *sine proprio*, he would transgress against his own institution, finding his own property amongst the poor. He therefore finds himself amongst the rich, who are not his own, but strangers to Francis. So much does he decline property. Both the institution and habit of Francis is perfect, whilst he professes nothing. Christ was in his habit found a man: *habitu inventus est homo*; but Francis in his habit was found to be nothing: *habitu inventus est nihil*.

But if Francis is nothing, how comes it that he says, *Deus meus*, & omnia: my God and all things. Therefore Francis has with him God and every thing. He twice repeats every thing. Why as God is all in all, does he add *omnia*: It was sufficient to say my god and to leave out *omnia*. No gentlemen: conceive the mystery: God and Francis concur to be all things: God creating all things from nothing, and Francis making nothing out of all things. It belongs to the same infinite virtue, and is an effect of equal omnipotence to bring all things out of nothing, and to reduce all things

cesco facendo niente dal tutto. Appartiene alla medesima infinita virtù, ed è effetto d'uguale onnipotenza cavar il tutto dal niente, e ridurre al niente il tutto. E' divino Francesco all'hor ch'il niente partecipa dell' onnipotenza di Dio: omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Due sono gl'effetti dell'onnipotenza: uno far dal niente tutto, l'altro far dal tutto niente. Dio fece dal niente tutto omnia per ipsum facta sunt; Francesco fece dal tutto niente, ad nihilum redactus sum: vedete la prova: date à Dio il nulla, crea il tutto; Date il tutto à Francesco, disfà il tutto in niente. Restando simile à Dio. Par che pesa una Divinità la santa levità di Francesco, e gareggia con la gloria di levita: Simboliza con Lorenzo.

Convieni ancora Francesco con Lorenzo nella virtù singolare di far miracoli. Di Lorenzo canta la Chiesa; Per signum crucis cæcos illuminavit, narrando, che

to nothing. Francis is divine, since nothing participates of the omnipotence of God: *omnia per ipsum facta sunt*. There are two effects of omnipotence, one to make all things of nothing, the other to make nothing of all things. God made all things out of nothing, *omnia per ipsum facta sunt*; Francis made nothing of all things, *ad nihilum redactus sum*. Consider the proof: give God nothing, he will create all things out of it; give all things to Francis, he reduces them to nothing, remaining like a god. It looks as if Francis by his holy levity, was equal in weight with the deity, and he rivalls the glory of the levite: by symbols he agrees with St. Lawrence.

Francis farther resembles Lawrence in the extraordinary power of working miracles. It is sung in the church concerning Lawrence; *per signum crucis cæcos illuminavit*, relating that by virtue of the sign of the cross he restor'd sight to the blind: Francis work'd the same miracle, and that to greater advantage, enlightning human eyes that they might see the invisible

che in virtù del segno della croce illuminó, e dieda la vista ai ciechi: operó Francesco il medesimo miracolo e con vantaggio, illuminando gli occhi humani per vedere Dio invisibile, in virtù della croce propria, in se medesimo stampata, e rappresentata. Lorenzo dava la vista, facendo con la mano il segno della croce di Christo, il di cui effetto era, vedere le cose visibili, e create. Francesco operava che gli mortali fissando gli occhi nel suo corpo crocefisso vedessero il medesimo Dio che in se stesso rappresentava. Formava dal suo corpo, stendendo le braccia, una viva croce, dimostrava le stimate delle mani, piedi, e costato; E operava che gli occhi humani vedessero nella sua figura Christo Dio crocefisso, quale essendo per sua natura divina invisibile: Deum nemo vidit unquam, si vedeva chiaramente improntato, e specchiato in Francesco cangiato in croce, secondo le parole di Giobbe praticate in Francesco, che riguardando il suo corpo impiagato, e crocefisso diceva: in carne mea videbo deum salvatorem meum: nella
mia

invisible God in virtue of the real cross, stamp'd and represented upon himself. Lawrence gave sight, making with his hand the sign of the cross of Christ, the effect of which was to see things visible and created. Francis brought matters so about, that mortals fixing their eyes upon his crucified body, saw the very god whom he represented. Extending his arms, he form'd with his body a living cross, he shew'd the five wounds in his hands, feet and side; and contriv'd so, that human eyes saw in his figure Christ the son of God crucified, who though by his divine nature invisible: Deum nemo vidit unquam, was seen plainly represented, and, as it were, reflected from a glass, in Francis transform'd into a cross; according to the words of Job verified in Francis, who beholding his wounded and crucified body exclaim'd: in carne mea

mia propria carne crocefissa, & impiagata vederò il mio Dio Salvatore; chiunque mirerà il corpo di Francesco trasformato in croce viva, & animata, mirerà il medesimo Dio espresso, e rappresentato in virtù della croce propria, essendo Francesco un'altro Christo per transformatione d' amore: vivit verò in me Christus. In cotal guisa illumina Francesco i ciechi mortali, elevandoli, & inalzandoli à vedere il Dio invisibile & immortale; non già formando il segno della croce altrui, come Lorenzo; mà dimostrando la croce propria della sua carne crocefissa. In carne meà: per signum crucis, confrontandosi con Lorenzo, mà con vantaggio, cæcos illuminavit.

Diamo di piglio, Signori, ad un'altra confrontatione più difficile, e più alta, che par più tosto discrepanza, che convenienza. Lorenzo donò i tesori della

videbo deum salvatorem meum: in my own crucified and wounded flesh I shall see God my Saviour, whoever sees the body of Francis transform'd into the lively representation of a cross, shall see God himself express'd and represented in virtue of the real cross, Francis being another Christ through the transformation of love: vivit vero in me Christus. In this manner Francis illuminates blind mortals, raising and exalting them to see the invisible and immortal God; not shewing the sign of another's cross like Lorenzo, but exhibiting the cross of his own crucified flesh. In carne meà: per signum crucis, comparing himself with Lawrence, but to his own advantage, cæcos illuminavit.

Let us now, my worthy auditors, fall upon another comparison more difficult and more sublime, which seems to be rather a difference than a resemblance. Lawrence bestow'd the treasures of the church upon the poor, *Tesaurus ecclesiæ dedit pauperibus*. Now this is a difference, because Francis never was rich, nor bestow'd treasures. He profess'd extreme poverty, or rather he was poverty itself in abstract, as we have

della Chiesa alli poveri *Thesauros ecclesiæ dedit pauperibus*. Hora questa è una discrepanza, perche Francesco giammai fu ricco nè dispensò tesori. Professo, estrema povertà anzi fu la medesima povertà in astratto, come habbiamo detto; come adunque li conviene havere, e dispensare tesori della chiesa. *Thesauros ecclesiæ dedit pauperibus*? Habbiatè pazienza, Signori, e ponderate meco che tesori sono questi di Lorenzo. Egli lo dichiarò con parole, e con fatti. La sua leggenda narra, ch'essendo egli stato dimandato dal Tiranno dove erano i tesori della Chiesa, andò à cercarli, e condusse gli poveri dicendo. Ecco gli tesori della chiesa: *Hi sunt Thesauri Ecclesiæ*. Adunque i poveri sono i tesori, e vale tanto il dire tesori della Chiesa, quanto poveri della Chiesa. O bene! se questo è vero, Francesco e i suoi frati sono tesori, e concorda con Lorenzo. Lorenzo chiama i poveri tesori della chiesa; e Francesco, ed i suoi seguaci sono poveri, adunque sono tesori. Egli è verissimo: periocchè i tesori sono servati e racchiusi nelli sacchi de' poveri.

Non

have already observ'd; how then could he have and dispense the treasures of the church? *Thesauros ecclesiæ dedit pauperibus*. Have a little patience, illustrious hearers, and consider with me what treasures these of Lawrence's are. He himself declar'd it both by words and deeds. We are inform'd in his legend, that he being asked by the tyrant where were the treasures of the church, he went in quest of them and conducted the poor with him, saying, here are the treasures of the church: *Hi sunt Thesauri Ecclesiæ*. Therefore the poor are the treasures, and it is the same thing to say the treasures of the church as the poor of the church. Very well, if this be true, Francis and his brethren are treasures, and he agrees with Lawrence. Lawrence calls the poor treasures of the church; and Francis and his followers are poor, therefore they are treasures. This is very true; because treasures are

E c 4

preserv'd

Non vedete tanti sacchi nella Famiglia di Francesco? Ecco altri tanti tesori. Nel sacco di Beniamino fratello minore, si ritrovò il tesoro di Giuseppe: inventus est in sacco Benjamin. Volete ritrovare i tesori della Chiesa? andate à ritrovare i figli di Francesco, i frati minori, e ritroverete i tesori: tanti sacchi, tanti tesori in Sacco Francisci, figurato in Beniamino fratello minore: più altamente, e piamente lo provo: ditemi, Signori cristiani, Cristo non è povero, pauper sum Ego? Non è egli pur trasformato in poveri? Certo: quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis. Adesso Cristo non è forse tesoro, somma, e mucchio de' tesori? In quo sunt omnes Thesauri, dice san Paolo. Quindi è che per buona conseguenza li poveri sono tesori. Quanti poveri, tanti Christì, e tanti Christì, tanti tesori; tutti figli di Francesco essendo poveri, sono Christì; ed essendo Christì sono tesori: Et hor apparisce

preserv'd and shut up in the sacks of the poor. Don't you see so many sacks in the family of Francis? Behold an equal number of treasures. In the sack of Benjamin the younger brother, was found the treasure of Joseph: *inventus est in sacco Benjamin*. Are you desirous of again finding the treasures of the church? Go in search of the sons of Francis, the friars minor, you will find the treasures, so many sacks, so many treasures *in sacco Francisci*, represented by Benjamin the younger brother. I prove it still more strongly and more fully: tell me, my christian brethren, is not Christ poor, *pauper sum Ego*? Is he not transform'd into the poor? Doubtless, he is, *quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis*. Now is not Christ a treasure, a sum, a heap of accumulated treasures? *In quo sunt omnes Thesauri*, says St. Paul. Hence it follows by a just consequence, that the poor are treasures. As many as there are of the poor, so many Christ's are there, and as many Christ's as there are, so many treasures; all the sons of Francis being poor are Christ's; and being Christ's are treasures:

apparisce la concordanza di Lorenzo con Francesco. Considerate la prerogativa di Francesco. Gli altri fondatori delle Religioni fondano Ordini di Cristo; ma Francesco fondò un ordine de Cristì, in virtù della povertà: tanti poveri, tanti Cristì. Osservate la fecondità della povertà. Iddio generò un Cristo Dio per divinità, Unigenito del Padre, e per l'umanità unigenito della madre; E' è un solo figlio unigenito, un Cristo: mà la povertà poté generare molti Cristì per virtù della transformatione. Riguardatene un' altra: quandò spartite, e donate i vostri tesori à i poveri, non perdetè, anzi guadagnate tesori di valuta immortale: Thesaurizate in cælo. Saccheggiare le vostre ricchezze per darle a' poveri è infaccarle per inserirle nel cielo; consegnarle in mano de' poveri, è trasferirle al tesoro celestiale. Lo asserisce Lorenzo in cælestes thesauros manus pauperum

treasures: and now appears the agreement of Lawrence with Francis. Consider the prerogative of Francis. Other founders of religious societies found orders of Christians, but Francis founded an order of Christs in virtue of their poverty: so many poor, so many Christs. Observe the prolific nature of poverty. God begat a Christ, who on account of the divinity of his nature, is only begotten of the Father, and on account of his humanity is begotten of his mother; and he is one only begotten son, one Christ: but poverty might give birth to many Christs in virtue of transformation. Take another circumstance into consideration: when you bestow your treasure upon the poor and divide it amongst them, you are no losers thereby, on the contrary, you gain treasures of immortal value: *Thesaurizate in cælo*. To empty your treasures, in order to give them to the poor, is the same thing with laying them up, in order to deposit them in heaven; to put them into the hands of the poor, is consigning them to the celestial treasury. This Lawrence affirms, in *cælestes thesauros manus pauperum deportaverunt*. Treasures do not perish when they

perum deportaverunt. *Non periscono i tesori all'ora che si mettono in questi sacchi de' poveri Francescani, anzi si guardano, si conservano, s'immortalano.*

Discorriamo però, Signori, sopra il punto principale, cioè il martirio di Lorenzo: tanto propria suo, che pare non poter appropriarsi à Francesco. Il fuoco di Lorenzo fu fuoco esaminatore igne me examinasti: ancor noi esaminiamo questo fuoco. Appariscono discrepanze manifeste. Lorenzo fu abbruggiato in carne, e per violenza altrui, verissimo martire di Cristo. Laurentius ingressus est martyr. Francesco, secondo San Bonaventura, non patì martirio di fuoco in carne, non per martyrum carnis, né con violenza. Onde sono capitati discrepanze. E' vero che Francesco non fu martire di corpo, bensì di Spirito: o martyr desiderio disse il medesimo Bonaventura, non per opera di martirio corporale, mà d' incendio spirituale, per incendium mentis. *Hebbe il martirio*

they are put into the bags of the poor Franciscans, on the contrary they are kept, they are preserv'd, they are render'd immortal.

Let us now, my worthy auditors, speak of the principal article, that is, the martyrdom of Lawrence: which is so peculiar to him, that it does not appear possible to appropriate it to Francis. The fire of Lawrence was a searching and examining fire, igne me examinasti: let us likewise examine this fire. There appear manifest differences. Lawrence was burn'd in the flesh, and by the violence of others, a true martyr of Jesus Christ. Laurentius ingressus est martyr. Francis, according to St. Bonaventure, did not suffer the martyrdom of fire in the flesh, non per martyrum carnis, nor by violence. Whence arise capital differences. It is true Francis was not a martyr in the body but in the spirit: o martyr desiderio said the same Bonaventura, not through the operation of bodily martyrdom, but of spiritual burning, per incendium mentis.

He

martirio in voto per desiderio; e come il battesimo in voto supplisce il battesimo reale, così anche il martirio in voto in certo modo può dirsi che uguaglia il martirio reale: quanto più che Francesco si procacciò il martirio reale davanti il Soldano, e provocò il fuoco materiale, e non mancò egli al martirio, ma à lui mancò il martirio. Lorenzo diede il corpo al fuoco, e Francesco l'anima, diventando martire di Spirito, all'hora che non poteva patir martirio corporale. Nel resto convien con Lorenzo: questo patì nella graticola, e croce e fuoco. Francesco nella impressione delle stimate patì similmente, e fuoco e croce. La graticola era composta di ferri traversati, e posti in croce, dove Lorenzo era abbruggiato e crocifisso diventando simile à Francesco impiagato nella croce, ed infiammato dal fuoco di Serafino. Era uno il fuoco & una la piaga di Lorenzo, e le croci moltiplicate ne i ferri della graticola: era però una la croce

He underwent martyrdom *in voto* by desiring it; and as baptism *in voto* supplies the want of real baptism, in the same manner martyrdom *in voto* is in some measure equivalent to real martyrdom: the more as Francis exposed himself to real martyrdom before the Sultan, and provok'd real fire, inasmuch that he cannot be said to have been wanting to martyrdom, but martyrdom to have been wanting to him. Lawrence gave his body to the fire, and Francis his soul, becoming a spiritual martyr, when it was not in his power to suffer real martyrdom. In other particulars he agrees with Lawrence: the latter suffered upon the gridiron both the cross and the fire. Francis by the impression of the five wounds suffered in like manner both fire and cross. The gridiron was compos'd of iron bars laid across one another, and placed in the form of a cross, upon which Lawrence was burn'd and crucified, becoming like Francis wounded upon the cross, and inflam'd by seraphic fire. The fire of Lawrence was one and the wound one, but the crosses were multiplied in the bars

croce di Francesco, et uno il fuoco dell' amore, e moltiplicate le piaghe. Lorenzo in molte croci haveva una piaga. Francesco molte piaghe in una croce: distillavasi il corpo di Lorenzo come cera fina per illustrar il mondo con luce divina; abbrugiavasi Francesco come il Serafino per infiammar il mondo con fuoco di Serafino. Era iustromento della passione di Lorenzo l'odio dell' inimico inhumano; e di Francesco, l'amore di Dio humanato. Era tormentato Lorenzo con peccato altrui. Francesco impiagato con grazie d'iddio. Volgevasi, e rivolgevasi Lorenzo nelle croci della sua graticola: versa; e Francesco stava fisso, e inchiodato nella sua croce. Lorenzo porgeva la carne sua in cibo: manduca. Francesco esibiva il suo sangue in bevanda, e dell' uno, e dell' altro risultava un' imagine del Sacrificio dell' Eucaristia. Lorenzo impropereva i carnesci: ministrantibus prunas insultat. Francesco amoreggiava i stampatori delle
stimate:

bars of the gridiron: the cross of Francis was one, and his fire of love was one, but his wounds were multiplied. Lawrence in many crosses had one wound. Francis had many wounds on one cross: the body of Lawrence melted like fine wax, to illuminate the world by divine light; Francis burn'd like the raptured Seraph, to inflame the world with seraphic fire. The hatred of the enemy of mankind, was instrumental in the sufferings of Lawrence; the love of God made man, was productive of those of Francis. Lawrence was tormented by the sin of others, Francis was wounded by the grace of God. Lawrence writh'd and turned himself upon the crosses of his gridiron: *versa*; and Francis stood motionless and nail'd to his cross. Lawrence gave his flesh as food: *manduca*. Francis gave up his blood for drink, and from one and the other, there resulted an emblem of the sacrifice of the Eucharist. Lawrence reproach'd his executioners: *ministrantibus prunas insultat*. Francis loved those who imprinted the marks of the five wounds upon him: *in medio eorum qui dilegebant me.*
 Lawrence

*stimate: in medeo eorum qui diligebant me. Lorenzo sciolto e libero nella graticola dava salti d'alle-
grezza: Francesco col corpo ritto, braccia distese,
nervi tirati, e costato aperto in guisa di Citara, so-
nava, e cantava con armonia. Lorenzo anbelava
Christo, Francesco avvampava di Christo. Lorenzo
voleva rapire il Cielo, Francesco voleva rapir Christo.
Viveva Lorenzo per morire in Christo, e Francesco
moriva per viver in Christo; vivit in me Christus.
E' finito l'esame, e sono convenienze, e sono differenze,
ma fanno trà di loro una concorde armonia. Fuor
dell' esame osservo che Francesco due volte patì fuoco,
l'una per smorzar il fuoco sensuale, abbracciando
il corpo per custodir la gratia spirituale, l'altra per
curar la malatia naturale. Sentì il primo fuoco,
ma non sentì il secondo: il primo era d'Essame come
quello di Lorenzo, con cui diceva Francesco: Igne
me examinasti, & non est inventa in me iniquitas,
diventò*

Lawrence unbound and at liberty upon the gridiron, leaped with joy: Francis with his body erect, his arms extended, his nerves stretch'd, and his breast open in the form of a cithern, play'd and sung with the utmost harmony. Lawrence breath'd Christ, Francis flam'd forth Christ. Lawrence aim'd at taking heaven by storm, Francis at taking Christ by force. Lawrence liv'd to die in Christ, and Francis died to live in Christ: *vivit in me Christus*. Thus have I concluded my examination, from which it appears that these two Saints agree in some circumstances and differ in others, but they in the main constitute a most harmonious agreement. I remark out of the examination, that Francis twice suffer'd by fire, once to quench his sensual flames, burning his body to preserve spiritual grace, and a second time to cure his natural malady. He felt the first fire, but he did not feel the second: the first was a fire of tryal like that of Lawrence, with whom Francis said: *igne me examinasti, & non est inventa in me iniquitas*, he became purified, and pure of every sensual blemish: thus he became

diventò purificata, e puro d'ogni macchia sensuale : riuscì simile anzi uguale à Lorenzo : ma nel secondo fuoco si dimostrò Francesco singolare e per dirlo così, Superiore ; Ascoltate. Lorenzo nel fuoco sentì dolore, e patì tormento ; ma Francesco nel secondo fuoco non patì tormento, nè dolore. Perché ? Francesco ch'era tutto fuoco, e amore di Dio, era fuoco di centro, che non s'infiama, nè s'abbruggia. Era, Signori miei, il centro del fuoco Francesco : e il centro non può patire d'altro fuoco. Il primo fuoco di Francesco fu fuoco d'esame, il secondo di centro. Perciò il Serafino tutto fuoco e per natura fuoco, scende dal Cielo e viene à cercar Francesco come centro, imperciocchè ritrovò in Francesco più fuoco che nella sua sfera di Serafino. Era ghiaccio il Serafino paragonato à Francesco : udite la prova. Movefi il Serafino, e scende al luogo di Francesco. Francesco non si muove, e stà fermo centro di fuoco. Svolazzando viene il Serafino, e cerca il maggior fuoco di Francesco, per fermarsi

became like or rather equal to Lawrence ; but in the second fire Francis signalis'd himself, and, if I may be allowed the expression, shew'd himself superior : give attention : Lawrence in the fire felt pain and suffer'd torment ; but Francis in the second fire neither suffer'd torment nor pain. Why ? Francis was all fire, and divine love, he was the central fire, which neither is inflam'd nor consum'd. Francis, my worthy auditors, was the centre of the fire ; and the centre cannot suffer by any other flames. Francis's first fire was of tryal, his second a central flame. Therefore the Seraphim that is all fire, and of a fiery nature, descends from heaven and seeks Francis as his centre, because he found more fire in Francis than in his seraphic sphere. The Seraphim was ice when compar'd to Francis : listen to the proof of this. The seraphim moves and descends into St. Francis's place. Francis does not move, but stands like a motionless fiery centre. The Seraphim descends fluttering, and seeks the largest fire
of

fermarsi nel suo naturale centro, qual' è Francesco :
 ma esaminiamo più il mistero, poichè trattiamo di
 fuoco d'essame. Mi occorrono, Signori, due ragioni
 convenevoli perchè il fuoco non abbruggiò Francesco :
 prima ; perchè Francesco era cenere per habito, e
 professione ; e la cenere custodisce il fuoco, e non pa-
 tisce dal fuoco ; la seconda, e più aggiustata ; perchè
 Francesco viveva dentro del fuoco in guisa di Sala-
 mandra. Rammentate, Signori, l'istoria. Fran-
 cesco per smorzar l'ardore della concupiscenza s'avventò
 e gittò nelle nevi, e abbracciò il ghiaccio ; spassando
 le nevi, diventò neve : erunt duo in carne una :
 erunt duo in nive una ; dunque Francesco restò
 trasformato in neve, e ridotto à ghiaccio animato ;
 onde quale Salamandra, così viveva e habitava nel
 fuoco, anzi l'estingueva, e smorzava ; veramente neve
 candida riposta nel tesoro di Dio ; quale, come dice
 Giobbe, tiene nel Cielo *Thesauros nivis*, tesori di neve,
 di

of Francis, in order to stop at his natural centre, which is
 Francis : but let us make a farther disquisition into this mys-
 tery, since we are treating of fire of examination and tryal.
 To me, gentlemen, there occur two causes why the fire did
 not burn Francis : first, because Francis was ashes by habit
 and by profession ; now ashes preserve the fire instead of suf-
 fering by it : the second is more adequate ; because Francis
 liv'd in the fire like a salamander. Do but recollect the his-
 tory, gentlemen. Francis in order to cool the heat of his
 concupiscence, leap'd into the snow and embrac'd the ice ;
 espousing the snow, he became snow himself : *erunt duo in*
carne una : *erunt duo in nive una* ; there will be two in one
 flesh, there will be two in one snow ; therefore Francis re-
 main'd metamorphos'd into snow, and reduc'd to animated
 ice ; insomuch that he liv'd in the fire and inhabited it like
 a salamander, or rather he quench'd and put it out ; being
 truly white snow, laid up in the treasury of God ; which, as
 Job says, holds in Heaven, *thesauros nivis*, treasures of snow,
 of

di purità, e verginità; quale è Francesco Vergine di corpo, e anima, quale ancora è stato Lorenzo, avendo ritrovato il suo pari in Francesco. Ambi due ebbero il medesimo fine, e il medesimo effetto. Di san Lorenzo dice Agostino: *Illuminavit mundum Laurentius igne quo ipse accensus est, & flammis quas pertulit, Christianorum corda calefecit; venne Lorenzo ad illuminare il mondo, e ad infiammare i cuori de' fedeli; altresì Francesco secondo le parole della chiesa nella sua oratione delle stimmate: Domine Jesu Christe qui frigescente mundo, ad inflammandum corda nostra tui amoris igne, in carne beatissimi Francisci Passionis tuæ sacra stigmata renovasti. Venne Francesco per il medesimo fine, e per il medesimo effetto che Lorenzo; ambidue gareggiano del pari nella virtù e negli effetti. Poteva esser qualcheduna fenice se fosse solo;*

of purity and virginity; such as is Francis, a virgin in body and soul, such as was Lawrence, having met with his match in Francis. Both had the same end and the same effect. St. Augustin says of St. Lawrence: *illuminavit mundum Laurentius igne quo ipse accensus est, & flammis quas pertulit, Christianorum corda calefecit*: Lawrence enlighten'd the world with the fire, wherewith he himself was burn'd, and with the flames which he underwent, he warm'd the hearts of Christians: in like manner, Francis according to the words of the church, in the prayer concerning the five wounds: *Domine Jesu Christe qui frigescente mundo, ad inflammandum corda nostra tui amoris igne, in carne beatissimi Francisci Passionis tuæ sacra stigmata renovasti*. "Lord Jesus Christ, who when the world grew cold, in order to inflame our hearts with the fire of thy love, didst renew the sacred marks of thy passion, upon the flesh of the ever blessed Francis." Francis came to the same end, and in the same effect with Lawrence; they rival each other in virtue and noble deeds. Either of them might be consider'd as a Phœnix by himself; but as the Phœnix is fabulous,

solo; ma essendo favola la fenice, è meglio che siano due pari come perle e unioni del Paradiso.

Un' altra nobile e notabile convenienza mi suggerisce l'Antifona quarta del Santo: *Misit Dominus Angelum suum, & liberavit me de medio ignis & non sum aestuatus*, narrando che un' Angelo scese dal Cielo et entrato nel fuoco della graticola accompagnò Lorenzo, e lo rinfrescò, accioche non s'abbruggiasse. Angelo la chiama la Chiesa, per confrontarlo coll' Angelo Serafico di Francesco, che nell' ardante impressione delle stimmate, s'aventò à Francesco improntandoli le piaghe. Uno et altro Angelo par che fosse il medesimo Christo sotto la specie d' Angelo; Et ad uno Et all' altro, à Lorenzo Et à Francesco apparve. Come appunto nella fornace di Babilonia si ritrovò il figlio di Dio nelle fiamme frà i tre Giovani Ebrei secondo la Scrittura: *Species quarti similis Filio Dei*. Ma osservo il mis-

terous, it is fitter they should be consider'd as pearls; as unions of paradise.

Another noble and striking agreement is suggested to me, by the fourth antiphony of the saint: *Misit Dominus angelum suum, & liberavit me de medio ignis & non sum aestuatus*, God sent his angel and deliver'd me out of the midst of the fire, and I was not burn'd; relating that an angel descended from heaven, and having enter'd the fire of the gridiron, attended Lawrence and cool'd him, that he might not be burn'd. The church calls him an angel to confront him with the seraphic angel of Francis, who when the five burning wounds were impress'd, flew to Francis and mark'd the five wounds upon his flesh. It appears that both one and t'other of these angels was Christ himself, in the shape of an angel; and he was visible to both one and t'other of the saints, to Lawrence and to Francis. Just as in the furnace at Babylon, the son of God appear'd in the flames, amidst the three young Hebrews, according to that passage of scripture: *Species quarti similis filio dei*, the fourth is like unto the son of God. But I re-

vero. L'Angelo di Lorenzo lo aiuta, alleggerisce, e rinfresca ne aestuaret, accidebo non arda, & non sum aestuatus. All'incontro l'Angelo Serafino di Francesco lo impiaga, infiamma, e crucifige in le fiamme di fuoco ardente: quello adunque rinfresca, questo infiamma: quello alleggerisce, questo affligge: quello fomenta, questa tormentia. Sono Angeli simili, o vera il medesimo Angelo: e sono gli effetti diversi. L'Angelo di Lorenzo è somigliante a quell'altro della fornace di Babilonia, che refrigerava, e rinfrescava i Giovani Santi Ebrei, Fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum foris flantem, per alleggerire il tormento, e temperar gli ardori. L'Angelo di Francesco par somigliante a quell'altro dell'orto di Gethsemani che apparve a Christo col Calice della Passione in mano, effortandolo a beverlo, ed a patire la morte della croce: essendo diversi gli officii, era uno il fine e l'effetto. Rinfrescava il primo, tormentava il secondo, con tutto

mark the mystery. The angel of Lawrence assists him, raises his spirits, and cools him, *ne aestuaret, lest he should be burn'd, & non sum aestuatus, and I was not burn'd.* On the contrary, the angelic seraphim of Francis wounds, inflames and crucifies him, amidst the flames of burning fire: the former therefore cools, the latter inflames: the former inspires cheerfulness, the latter afflicts: the former cherishes, the latter torments. They are angels that resemble each other, or rather the same angel, yet their effects are different. The angel of Lawrence resembles that of the furnace in Babylon, who cool'd and refresh'd the young Hebrew saints, *fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum foris flantem,* he made the middle of the furnace as it were a cooling breeze, to alleviate their torments, and allay the heats. The angel of Francis appears to resemble the angel that appear'd at the garden of Gethsemani to Christ, with the chalice of the passion in his hand, exhorting him to drink it, and to suffer the death of the cross: their offices being different, their end and effect

was

tutto ciò il fine di tutti due era alleggerire, e confortare: imperciocchè la Scrittura dice dell' Angelo, che porgeva a Christo il calice della Passione: *Confortans eum*, veniva dunque a confortare, non a tormentare. Ma come può stare che mezzi tanto diversi fossero ordinati al medesimo fine? L' Angelo della fornace confortava, rinfrescava & alleggeriva, l' Angelo dell' orto affliggeva, e tormentava col calice della Passione: come dunque potevano per suo fine confortar & alleggerire? La ragione è, perche Christo baveva il tormento per gloria, e perciò era confortato col calice del patimento. I tre Giovani della fornace stimavano l'ardore tormento, e così richiedevano il refrigerio a rinfrescar. Christo bramava il patire, e si dilettava con la Passione, che stimava esser facile, e dolce bevanda: *Calicem* in guisa tale che non si satia di patire nella croce dicendo: *Sitio*, e poneva la sodisfazione e gloria nel tormento: *Factus in agonia* che fu l'effetto del

was the same. The first cool'd, the second tormented; the design of both notwithstanding, was to inspire cheerfulness and comfort, therefore the scripture tells us that the angel that offer'd the chalice of the passion to Christ: *confortans eum*, comforting him, came to comfort and not to torment him. But how is it possible, that means so different, should be calculated to promote the same end? The angel in the furnace comforted, refresh'd and alleviated, the angel in the garden afflicted and tormented with the chalice of the passion: how then could the purpose of both be to comfort and alleviate afflictions: the reason is, that Christ look'd upon torment as glory, and was therefore comforted with the chalice of suffering. The three young men in the fiery furnace look'd upon burning as torment, and therefore they pray'd to be cool'd. Christ wish'd to suffer, and delighted in his passion, which he consider'd as an easy and agreeable draught: *calicem*: inasmuch that he was not satiated with suffering upon the cross, saying: *Sitio*; and his torment was a glory and satisfaction

del conforto angelico *Confortatus sum*: all' incontro quelli tre giovani della fornace, havendo l'ardore per tormento, richiedevano il rimedio del rinfresco, perche pativano nel fuoco, penavano negli amori. Andiamo alla graticola di Lorenzo, ed alla croce di Francesco. Perciò a Lorenzo apparve l'Angelo per rinfrescarlo, e liberarlo dal tormento, *Liberavit me*? Perche pativa dal fuoco nella graticola. Francesco nella croce tra le stimate, e piaghe patisce, ma stima gloria il patire. Perciò il Serafino l'affigge, e tormenta. Anzi più: Francesco non solamente aveva il patire per gloria, ma etiamdio per natura. Erano naturali à Francesco la croce e le piaghe; restò stimatizzato con piaghe della propria carne, e inchiodato in croce propria, con chiodi naturali, impiagato da se stesso, crocefisso da se medesimo; il Serafino non gli prestò la croce, e nemmeno i chiodi: Francesco diventò croce naturale,

tisfaction to him: *factus in agoniâ*, being come to the agony which was the effect of the angelic comfort, *confortatus sum*: on the contrary, the three young men of the furnace considering heat as torment, requested the remedy of cooling, because they suffer'd in fire and were tormented, whilst they liv'd. But in return to the gridiron of Lawrence, and the cross of Francis. Why did the angel appear to Lawrence, to cool him and deliver him from his torments, *liberavit me*? He freed me. Because he suffer'd by the fire upon the gridiron. Francis suffers upon the cross, by the five wounds, but he considers his suffering as glory. Therefore the seraphim afflicts and torments him. We may add, that Francis not only look'd upon his suffering as glorious, but it was even become congenial to his nature. The cross and the wounds were natural to Francis; he remain'd mark'd with the wounds of his own flesh, and nail'd upon his own cross with natural nails, being wounded by himself, and crucifix'd in the same manner; the seraphim neither gave him the cross, nor even the nails: Francis became a natural cross, without any other cross,

naturale, senza croce altrui con chiodi formati dalla carne naturale, inchiodato senza violenza, ne ferro; il Serafino portava croce di legno e chiodi di ferro, mà Francesco da se medesimo formò la croce, e li chiodi, diventando croce, e crocefisso glorioso per morire in croce, Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce, vivendo nella morte, e morendo nella vita. Christo morì nella croce, e solamente visse trè ore nel tormento; e Francesco visse crocefisso due anni intieri per essergli naturale la croce, e il tormento. Quindi è la differenza trà Lorenzo, e Francesco; che Lorenzo restò liberato, e Francesco crocefisso.

Mentre tutti due gareggiano nel patire, l'uno nella graticola, l'altro nella croce; parmi, che voi, Signori, come acuti, e critici, v'ingegnate à farmi un argomento contro la conformità delli medesimi Lorenzo, e Francesco, dicendo così: Padre mio, concordate una discrepanza che pare impossibile à confrontarsi.

Lorenzo

cross, with nails form'd of his natural flesh, being nail'd without violence or iron; the seraphim carried a wooden cross and nails of iron, but Francis made the cross himself, and the nails becoming a cross, and being crucified, gloried in dying upon the cross; mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce, let me never glory, except in the cross, living in death and dying in life. Christ died upon the cross and liv'd only three hours in torment; and Francis liv'd two whole years crucified, because the cross and torment were become natural to him. Hence arises the difference between Lawrence and Francis; that Lawrence remain'd at liberty and Francis was crucified.

Whilst they rival each other in suffering, one on the grid-iron, the other upon the cross. I think that you my worthy auditors, as acute and critical personages are going to make an exception against the conformity of these same saints Lawrence and Francis in these terms; my good father reconcile an inconsistency, which it appears to me almost impos-

Lorenzo è Spagnuolo, e Francesco d'altra nazione, cioè Italiano: come dunque concordano? Potrei ben rispondere che io non tratto di concordanza di natura ne di nazione, ma di concordanza delle virtù, e grazie. Apparto un argomento nuovo in contrario per li Francesi, imperciocchè Francesco, secondo la sua leggenda, si chiamò Francesco, per aver imparato presto, e quasi miracolosamente la lingua Francese. Nondimeno affermo che Francesco può essere Spagnuolo; e rispondo che conviene a Francesco l'essere Spagnuolo per quattro giustissime ragioni. Prima, per il sito della Spagna dove si pone, e muore il sole: figura di Christo crocefisso in cui è trasformato Francesco stigmatizzato. Il ponente è proprio di Francesco, sempre contrario al levante. Levante no, cadente per humiltà, senza l'alterigia di levante. Seconda, per la devotione della nazione Spagnuola verso Francesco e suo ordine Francescano. Terza, perchè la

fible to colour. Lawrence is a Spaniard and Francis is of another nation, that is, an Italian: how do they agree? I might very well answer, that I do not treat of agreement with regard to nature or nation; but of agreement in virtues and graces. I on the contrary alledge a new argument in favour of the French; Francis according to his legend, was called Francis, because he suddenly, and as it were by a miracle, learned the French language. I notwithstanding affirm, that Francis may be a Spaniard; and I make answer that four good reasons may be alledg'd why Francis should be a Spaniard. First, on account of the situation of Spain, where the sun sets: which is typical of Christ crucified, into whom, Francis being mark'd with the five wounds, was transform'd. Sun set is peculiar to Francis, always contrary to its rising. Not rising but setting through humility, without arrogantly pretending to rise. Secondly on account of the devotion of the Spanish nation to Francis and the Franciscan order. Thirdly, because Spain has found means to make the

Spagna ha trovato il modo di far grandi i minori di Francesco, facendo Grande di Spagna i loro generali. Quarta, perche i Generali successori di Francesco, osservanti, da certo tempo in qua sono sempre Spagnuoli, o nativi, o vassalli di Spagna. Queste ragioni convincono l'esser Francesco Spagnuolo simile à Lorenzo. All' argomento nuovo della lingua Francese, rispondo, che Francesco ritrovò nelli suoi tesori de' frati poveri una lingua preziosissima, gloria inestimabile Spagnuola, cioè la lingua immortale del Santo, che parlava tutte le lingue, essendo una, e sola portoghese, era un tesoro, di tutte perche parlava in tutte le lingue, ed era inteso da tutte le nazioni. Vengo però alla principal ragione, Signori, ed è la seguente: ascoltatevi attenti. Essendo nella Chiesa militante molti capitani, e condottieri di militia, e soldatesca spirituale instituita contra i tre nemici dell' huomo mondo, diavolo, e carne, non vi è esercita più forte, e numeroso che quello glorioso capitano, e condottiere

the poor Franciscan friars great; raising their generals to the rank of grandees of Spain. Fourthly, because the general successors to Francis, of the congregation of observants, have for some time past been Spaniards, that is either natives or vassals of Spain. These reasons convince me, that Francis was a Spaniard as well as Lawrence. To the new argument relative to the French language, I answer, that Francis found in his treasures of poor brethren a most precious language, an inestimable Spanish jewel, that is to say, the immortal language of the saint, who spoke all languages, being the one Portuguese language alone, it was a treasure of all, because he spoke in all languages, and was understood by all nations. I now come to the chief reason, gentlemen, and it is as follows: listen attentively. There being in the church militant, many captains and leaders of the troops, and spiritual soldiery raised against the three enemies of man, the world, the devil, and the flesh, there is no army stronger and

condottiero Francesco. Questi lo governa al modo Spagnuolo. Tra tutti gli altri condottieri egli solo guerreggia a guisa di Spagnuolo, e forma l'esercito de' Soldati Spagnuoli. Gli altri condottieri praticano di diverse milizie e di differenti nazioni: ma Francesco professa la milizia Spagnuola: penetrato la ragione: la milizia Francese pone la sua forza principale nella Cavalleria, l'Italiana nell'unione de' cavalli e fanti, la Spagnuola fa il suo capitale de' fanti, e fantaria, e sciera pedoni nella campagna, e costoro sono i nervi del suo esercito: per mezzo loro ha atterrati ed atterrati potentissimi Re, e fortissimi capitane e numerosissimi eserciti, questa è la milizia di Francesco tutta fantaria, senza fantasia, tutta di pedoni: sciera fanti pedestri, guerreggia a piedi, e vince. Scierate, Signori, le altre milizie, in tutte ritroverete cavalli, cavalieri, carri, e carrozze, o siano Benedittini, o Domenicani, o Agostiniani, o Carmelitani,

and more numerous than that of the glorious captain and leader Francis. He commands them in the Spanish manner. Of all leaders he alone makes war, according to the Spanish manner, and forms an army of Spanish soldiers. Other leaders carry on war, according to different methods and the customs of different nations: but Francis professes the Spanish warfare: penetrate the reason of this: the French armies place their chief strength in their cavalry; the Italian in the union of their horse and foot; the Spaniards lay their chief stress upon their infantry, and draw out foot soldiers in the plain, and these are the nerves and sinews of their army: by their means they have subdued and humbled the most powerful king, the most valiant generals and the most numerous armies; such is the soldiery of Francis, all infantry: this not a meer fancy, they are all foot soldiers: they draw out foot soldiers, they fight on foot and conquer. Draw out other armies in battle array, gentlemen, in them all you will find horse, horsemen, cars and coaches, whether they be Benedic-

litant, e con loro, tutti i chierici regolari: solo i
Franciscani tutti sona santi senza cavalli, ne cava-
lieri: Non debent equitare. Per regola, per insti-
tuta tutta la militia è fantaria, non vi troverete un
Cavallo, ne Carozze, ne cavalieri: è dunque Fran-
cesco condottiere Spagnuolo; ed i suoi religiosi santi
nella militia di fantaria; e quindi si conchiude, che
è simile à Lorenzo veramente Spagnuolo.
Abbiamo, Signori, concordati Lorenzo, e Fran-
cesco. Resta a fare la combinatione delle Monache
con san Lorenzo, e san Francesco, acciò resti com-
pita la confrontatione, quale è pur difficile, e non
volgare. Sio fossi Filosofo nominale, me ne spedirci
con dir, che Monache si chiamano di San Lorenzo,
e rimetterei la prova al nome: ma io sono de' reali:
ancora che fossi de' nominali, non averei soddisfatto
all'argomenta; perche le Monache di san Lorenzo
non hanno niente commune ne di nome ne di cognome
con

tines or Dominicans, Augustins or Carmelites, and with
them all the regular clergy: the Franciscans alone are all
foot soldiers, without horse or horsemen: non debent equitare,
they must not ride. By their rule and the laws of their insti-
tution, the whole soldiery is infantry, you will not find
amongst them, either a horse, coaches or horsemen: Francis
is therefore a Spanish leader, and his friars are foot soldiers,
who engage on foot; hence it is concluded, that he ressem-
bles Lawrence, who was a real Spaniard.
Thus, gentlemen, have we reconcil'd Lawrence and Francis.
It remains for us to compare the nuns with St. Lawrence and
St. Francis, that the parallel may be compleat, which is very
difficult and not common. Were I one of those Philosophers,
who are stiled Nominalists, I should content myself with say-
ing that they are call'd nuns of St. Lawrence, and I should
leave the proof to the name: but I am of the opposite school,
a Realist; and even if I was a Nominalist, I should not there-
by give a satisfactory answer; because the nuns of St. Law-
rence

con san Francesco, e voi mi domandate la confro-
tatione con tutti dui, io mi trovo inebodato e in-
viluppato. Procurerò ingegnarvi in maniera che
mi sviluppi, e vi soddisfactis. Primieramente san
Lorenzo è sole, pianeta di fuoco, e il sole produce
stelle, tali sono le monache di questo illustre convento, e
dico il vero con la Chiesa che aggranda. Omnia
in luce clarescunt. Tutto in Lorenzo è Chiaro.
Dunque è sole, e quindi è che produce stelle, e an-
cora che patisca in fuoco, genera facelle, che splen-
dono, e sono lumi. Di più il sole è vivo fuoco, e
fuochi le stelle, sempre stelle, e sempre lumi. Ma
nega il suo esser loro facelle, essere stelle, perche sono
in Venetia, sono in acqua, che non confronta col
fuoco, anzi incontra il fuoco. Sono pure le Monache
stille d'acqua, non stelle di fuoco. Non havete rag-
gione. Il firmamento centro delle stelle sta in mezzo
dell'

rence have neither their name nor fir-name in common with
St. Francis, and you require me to compare them: I find
myself cribb'd in, and involv'd in difficulties: I shall there-
fore endeavour to exert myself in such a manner, as to get
rid of them, and give you compleat satisfaction. In the first
place, St. Lawrence is a sun, a fiery planet, and the sun ge-
nerates stars, such are the nuns of this illustrious convent:
I speak the truth with the church, which this very day sings
omnia in luce clarescunt. All things grow bright in the light:
In Lawrence all is illustrious, as Therefore he is a sun, and
hence it is, that he generates stars; and though he suffers in
fire, he generates little torches, which shine and give light:
Add to this, that the sun is living fire and the stars are fires,
always stars and always lights. But, you will say, their si-
tuation proves them to be no torches, to be no stars, because
they are in Venice, they are in water, which does not agree
with fire, but rather opposes it: the nuns therefore are drops
of water, not stars of fire. This, gentlemen, is your mis-
take. The firmament which is the centre of the stars, stands

dell' acqua nel Cielo. Aqua super firmamentum, aqua sub firmamento. Adunque il loco proprio delle stelle è tra le acque, e le stille sono stelle; e svanisce il vostro argomento, e diventano le Monache vere figlie di san Lorenzo; E ancora proprie di stelle; sono chiare, e simili a santa Chiara figlia di san Francesco, di cui si vantano sorelle per Chiara; e diventano figlie proprie di Francesco. Per altre ragioni ancora concordano le Monache con Lorenzo, cioè perche essendo Lorenzo nome derivato dall' alloro, e Laurentio di lauro simbolo di palma, e di Vittoria, significa il vantaggio, che ha questo Monasterio sopra tutti gli altri, tra i quali si porta il vanto, e la palma come vittorioso, e principale. E già che Lorenzo è fuoco, questo convento è la fenice de' conventi, concorrendo Francesco che contribuisce la cenere del suo habito per compir la productione della fenice. Quindi è che le Monache nostre restano proprie di san Lorenzo,

e di

in the midst of the waters of Heaven: aqua super firmamentum, aqua sub firmamento. Water above the firmament, and waters below the firmament. Therefore the peculiar place of the stars is amongst the waters, and the drops are stars; and your argument falls to the ground and the nuns become true daughters of St. Lawrence; and likewise the daughters of Francis, because being torches and stars, they are bright and resemble St. Clara, daughter of St. Francis, whose sisters they boast themselves to be, and become the real daughters of Francis. The nuns agree with Lawrence upon other accounts, that is because Lawrence being a name derived from Laurel, and Laurentius from laurus, the symbol of the palm and of victory, denote the advantage which this monastery has over all others, amongst which it raises its head, and bears the palm as principal. And since Lawrence is fire, this convent is the phoenix of convents; Francis concurring who contributes the ashes of his habit to complete the production of the Phoenix. Hence it is that our nuns belong in a peculiar manner

di san Francesco. Io però non ardisco di arrogarmi tante che chiami le Monache di san Lorenzo Monache di san Francesco, perchè Francesco è povero, e nulla, e niente, e Padre de' minori: titoli meno convenevoli a Gentildonne Venetiane tanto Superiori per il sangue, per le doti di anima, e di corpo, e di fortuna. Restino Dunque Monache di san Lorenzo, chiamisi Francesco, san Francesco delle monache di san Lorenzo, come minore, e servo di questo convento. Professandosi i suoi figli frati minori, per servirle, per obbedirle, e riverirle, per ossequiarle come padrone, riconoscendosi minori per l'umiltà, e per l'obedienza osservanti, e giustamente minori osservanti.

TUTTO ALLA GLORIA DI SAN LORENZO.

manner to St. Lawrence and St. Francis. I however do not presume to take so much upon myself, as to call the nuns of St. Lawrence, nuns of St. Francis, because Francis is poor and nobody, and nothing, and father of the humble and lowly: titles by no means suited to Venetian ladies, who are so greatly ennobled by their birth, by their qualities of mind and body, and by the gifts of fortune. Let them therefore remain nuns of St. Lawrence, let Francis be call'd St. Francis of the nuns of St. Lawrence, as an inferior brother and servant to that convent. His sons professing themselves inferior brothers in order to serve, obey and reverence those ladies, to behave to them with complaisance as patronesses, acknowledging themselves inferior brothers through humility, and observant through obedience and properly minor observants.

ALL TO THE GLORY OF ST. LAWRENCE.

THE

THE author of this sermon is the same father Francis Macedo, a Portuguese cordelier, well known for the polemical treatise which father Noris, who was afterwards cardinal, published against him in 1689, with the title of *Thraſo five Miles Macedonicus Plaurino ſale perſcriptus*. The cauſe of this quarrel was very trivial. Father Macedo had aſſerted that the Albinus to whom St. Auſtin addreſſes his treatiſe *de Gratia Chriſti*, was an *Albinus*, a prieſt's aſſiſtant in the church of Rome: father Noris diſcovered under that name Albina, daughter of the old Melania and mother to the young. Father Macedo was fourſcore years old at the time of this diſpute, and boated that he had compoſed 44 volumes, 53 panegyricks, 60 latin harangues, 150 epitaphs, 500 elegiums, 110 odes, 212 dedicatory epiſtles, 2600 epic poems, and 150000 verſes. See a circumſtantial narrative of the life of this voluminous writer in Moreri's dictionary.

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